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## THE ST. MARY'S CITY PRESS: A NEW CHRONOLOGY OF AMERICAN PRINTING.

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The first individual to establish and operate a printing press in the English colonies south of Massachusetts was William Nuthead, who, late in 1682 or early in 1683, began printing in Virginia and, almost at once, was forbidden by Governor and Council to continue the practice of his craft in that colony. Because of the briefness of his venture in Jamestown, represented today by nothing more tangible than an entry in the Virginia Council minutes, historians of printing have not regarded Nuthead's operations as marking the actual establishment of the press in the first of the English American colonies. Sometime later, he moved to Maryland, where, through printing activities covering ten or more years, he brought about a permanent establishment of the press. Until the event now to be reported, the earliest, and only, extant issue of the Maryland press of Nuthead known to bibliographers was a political broadside of the year 1689. The printing house of William Bradford, which began operations in Philadelphia late in 1685 with the publication of an almanac, has always been regarded, therefore, as the first permanent press to be established in North America between Massachusetts and Mexico. But this generally accepted conclu-

sion has been brought into question by a discovery<sup>1</sup> made last winter in the Land Office at Annapolis, Maryland, involving data of a distinctly different bearing.

A brief statement of the circumstances attending William Nuthead's residence in Virginia and Maryland, as heretofore known, is necessary in this reëxamination of the order of events in the establishment of printing in what is now the United States of North America.<sup>2</sup> Brought to Jamestown in 1682, by John Buckner, merchant and landowner, William Nuthead set up his press in the earliest of the English-American settlements and proceeded to make use of it for the public needs. For some

<sup>1</sup> The printed and manuscript materials upon which this discussion is based are listed and described at the end of this article and in its text. Form (g) was discovered in the library of the Maryland Historical Society by the Librarian, the late Charles Fickus, who at once recognized its importance and conveyed to me the results of a careful study of its typographical features. All the remaining forms and the manuscript statement of charges against Colonel William Digges (Plate I) were found by Mr. Arthur Trader, Chief Clerk of the Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, among some unclassified papers in that notable repository of Maryland colonial records. Realizing their interest as specimens of early Maryland printing, Mr. Trader brought them to the attention of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, who recognized in this group of blank forms data which made a radical alteration in the accepted chronology of the press in English America. Because of my earlier studies in the subject of Maryland printing, Dr. Pleasants courteously invited me to prepare a description of the newly discovered forms and turned over to me his own observations and notes upon them. The discovery of the documents and their significance was accordingly announced by me at a special meeting of the Maryland Historical Society on May 27, 1935. Through the medium of *The Colophon*, Winter Number, 1936, the story was first given circulation in print. I am grateful to Dr. Pleasants and to Mr. Fickus and Mr. Trader for the privilege of presenting to American bookmen this article descriptive of the discoveries. It should be added that at a later time Mr. Trader found a large number of blank forms from the press of Thomas Reading, the printer who succeeded the Nutheads in Annapolis. Interesting though they are, these later forms have nothing to do with the present discussion.

<sup>2</sup> The ensuing statement of previously held knowledge of William Nuthead and his press is based upon Chapter I of my *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, and upon the notes to entries Nos. 1 and 2 in the list of imprints attached to that work. A brief article on William Nuthead abstracted from the same source is found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

reason not explained he failed to procure license from authority for the operation of his press, so that in February, 1683, after he had printed two trial sheets of the acts of the late assembly "and several other papers," he was taken sharply to task by the Council. "For prevention of all troubles and inconveniences, that may be occasioned thorow the liberty of a presse," he was ordered to print nothing further until the King's pleasure in the matter should be communicated. Nearly a year later a new governor came to Virginia bearing royal instructions which contained the clause, "you are to provide by all necessary orders and Directions that no person be permitted to use any press for printing upon any occasion whatsoever." Thereupon ensued a deadlock which endured, so far as printing in Virginia was concerned, until William Parks, in 1730, established in Williamsburg the first permanent press of that colony.

What Nuthead's movements were in the two or three years following the inhibition of his press by the Council is matter for conjecture. It is clear, however, that sometime in this period he went to Maryland, and we will now review briefly the facts of his Maryland career as they were understood previous to the discovery of the data which provide the basis of our investigation. Until the present time, the earliest appearance of Nuthead's name in colonial records after his Virginia misadventure was supposed to be its inclusion in the "money act" of the Maryland Assembly of October, 1686, in which occurs this brief entry: "To Wm. Nutthead Printer five Thousand five Hundred and fifty pounds of Tobaccoe." In November, 1686, "William Nuthead of St. Marys Citty Printer" appears in the Land Records as having taken up a three-hundred acre tract on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. His press was in active employment by the revolutionists in the political reversal of 1689. An entry in the Council Records of 1693 shows him in the act of denying having printed a blank land warrant running in the name of the dispossessed Lord Baltimore. Other records, of equal validity with these, offered evidence to earlier students of American typographical history that Nuthead was

in Maryland, engaged in the practice of printing, from 1686 until his death in the year 1695.

The earliest issue of the Nuthead press of which a record had been found previous to the recent discoveries is the well-remembered *Declaration of the Reasons and Motives for the Present Appearing in Arms of their Majesties Protestant Subjects in the Province of Maryland*. This "manifesto" was the most important document issued by the leaders of the Protestant Revolution in Maryland. It is a reasonable presumption that, following the known transmittal of a manuscript copy of this "Declaration" to the home authorities, a copy of the document was also sent to them in printed form, for on January 7, 1690, the Lords of Trade and Plantations requested their president to lay before the King, together with other papers received from Maryland, "a declaration in Print from the Inhabitants there." No copy of the *Declaration* bearing a Maryland imprint has yet been found among the papers in the Public Record Office or, for that matter, anywhere else, but that the "declaration in Print" here referred to once existed in the shape of a pamphlet from the printing office of William Nuthead is a supposition well attested by the fact that a printed version of the document, officially licensed in London for publication in November, 1689, appeared soon afterwards with the title as given above and with the following colophon: "Maryland, Printed by William Nuthead at the city of St. Maries. Re-printed in London, and Sold by Randal Taylor near Stationers Hall, 1689."

Read in conjunction with the documentary evidence of Nuthead's residence in St. Mary's City, the explicit statement of this colophon in itself bears testimony to the fact that a press was in operation in Maryland in 1689. But tangible evidence of the activity of such a press in that place and period exists in the form of an actual copy of a broadside printed in St. Mary's City shortly after the promulgation there of the "Declaration." The leader of the Protestant Associators, Colonel John Coode, fearing the capture by the French of his former despatches, wrote to the Privy Council on December 17, 1689, enclosing an

additional copy of the "Declaration" and an "Address." He did not say that either of these was in printed form, but on February 7, 1690, Lord Shrewsbury, one of their Majesty's principal secretaries of state, transmitted Coode's letter to the Lords of Trade and with it a printed broadside headed, *The Address of the Representatives of their Majestyes Protestant Subjects, in the Province of Mary-Land Assembled. To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.* At the foot of this broadside stands the following imprint: "Maryland printed by order of the Assembly at the Cittiy of St. Maryes August: 26th. 1689." Beneath the imprint appears in longhand these significant words: "This is a true copy of the Originall Attested per John Llewelin Clk Assembly." On the back of the broadside is the following endorsement of the Lords of Trade: "Maryland 26 August 1689. Address of the Representatives to the King. Recd. from my Lord Shrewsbury 7<sup>th</sup> Feb: 89. Copy rec<sup>d</sup>: 31 December." It is seen at once that this printed copy of the broadside, the only one known, by the way, found among the Lords of Trade papers in the Public Record Office, possesses a pedigree seldom vouchsafed a printed piece. Through its imprint and its longhand endorsements one is able to trace it back from the Lords of Trade to Shrewsbury and the Privy Council, thence to Coode and Llewelin in Maryland, and back of them to a printing office in St. Mary's City. Since the facts concerning this document were first put in order some years ago and published in connection with the circumstances of the life of William Nuthead in Maryland, no one, I believe, has questioned that Nuthead was the printer who, borrowing the Spanish idiom, gave this *Address* to the light.

Briefly summarized, therefore, the previously existing knowledge of the first Maryland press was this: from October, 1686, to February, 1695, a printer named William Nuthead lived in Maryland in close association with the government; evidences of Nuthead's printing activity are found in the Provincial records, in the colophon of the London reprint of a Maryland document, and in one actual issue of the Maryland press, the

*Address of the Representatives* of 1689. With these dates and facts in mind many students of American printing history have believed it likely that one day there might be found issues of the Nuthead press of a date earlier than 1689, and that the whole or a part of those years between the inhibition of Nuthead's press in Virginia in 1683 and his supposed first appearance in Maryland in 1686 might yet be accounted for by the discovery of imprint or documentary reference. Their faith has been justified by the recent discoveries in the Maryland Land Office.

Before going into an examination of the typographical and documentary data which these discoveries present us with, I want to consider very briefly a known fact in the life of Nuthead and other early American printers; namely, their dependence for part of their living upon the production and sale of blank forms—the printed legal and commercial forms such as bonds, writs, clearance papers, and the like, used by public officers, lawyers, merchants, and mariners in the prosecution of their business. The simplification in legal and commercial procedure brought about by abolishing the laborious practice of writing such documents in longhand was not the least of the services which caused early American communities to look with eagerness upon the settlement in them of resident printers. The earliest and most celebrated issue of the first printing house of English America was a blank form, the so-called "Freeman's Oath" of Cambridge, Massachusetts, of the year 1639, and almost invariably a printer's first undertaking in establishing himself was to run off a stock of the forms most suited to the special needs of his community. William Nuthead was no exception to this rule of procedure. At the time of his death in 1695, his accounts showed that money was owed him by some sixty persons in various parts of the Province. Many of these are easily identifiable as persons then, or a year or two earlier, employed as sheriff, justice of a county court, or holder of a public office of one sort or another. His dealings with officials of this type would in all probability have been mainly in the printing of blank forms for use in their respective offices. In

1693, he was ordered to print nothing but blank bills and bonds without leave from Governor and Council. In 1696, Dinah Nuthead, his widow, gave bond to print nothing but blank forms except by particular license from the Governor. In 1700, William Bladen, who was backing the press of Thomas Reading, successor to the Nutheads, asked the Assembly to pass an ordinance requiring that all legal blank forms used in the Province, except special writs, should be of the printed variety. In 1706, Thomas Reading begged a renewal of this ordinance formerly passed for the benefit of "W. Bladen and others that had printing Presses in the Province." Evidence similar in tendency is easily accumulated from the records of other colonies to show that undoubtedly an appreciable part of the living of the early American printer was obtained from the production of blank forms identical in character to those we have mentioned. Because of these conditions in the American printing trade, therefore, we need not be surprised at the place of importance occupied by the blank form in the present study of the early Maryland press.

It is now time that we were fitting the newly discovered data into the background provided by the foregoing review of previously known facts in the history of Maryland printing origins. In our first note we have described the circumstances under which were discovered at Annapolis a manuscript cash account of the years 1684 and 1685 and nine printed blank forms bearing dates from 1685 to 1702. The manuscript cash account, Plate I, made out to "The Honourable Coll<sup>o</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Diggs Dr," probably in his capacity of Chief Judge of Probate,<sup>3</sup> covered the period January, 1684, to November, 1685. The last entry in that account, dated in the month of November, 1685, reads as follows:

"To W<sup>m</sup> Nuttheads bill                      1650 lbs tob<sup>o</sup>"

<sup>3</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, LI, xliii-xliv, where it appears that in January, 1683, William Digges and Henry Darnall were appointed, jointly, Keepers of the Great Seal, Councillors, and Chief Judges of Probate. It is the opinion of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, that the account here cited was submitted to Colonel Digges as chief Judge of Probate.

This entry suggests strongly that Nuthead was in Maryland engaged in service to the provincial authorities for a period long enough before November, 1685, to enable him to accumulate charges against a single government officer amounting to nearly £7 sterling at the current valuation of tobacco at a penny a pound. Seven pounds sterling was an appreciable sum of money in that year and place, the equivalent of at least \$200 in modern American currency. With the fact of his considerable public employment before November, 1685, rendered probable by this entry, our first impulse is to seek for tangible evidence of Nuthead's work in the form of printed pieces of the period. One such bit of evidence we find among the blank forms lately turned up in the Maryland Land Office. The earliest in point of time of this group is a bill obligatory, shown in Plate III in facsimile, dated [31 August] 168[5]. The fact that it is filled in with the names of two citizens of St. Mary's County, Maryland, joined to the fact that an individual named William Nuthead, known to be a printer, was in the public service at approximately the date of the bill would give us reasonable ground to assume a connection between this printed piece and the press of William Nuthead even if there did not exist equally important evidence of another sort pointing in the same direction. I refer to the typographical likeness that exists between this bill and certain parts of the *Address* of 1689, which has previously been put in evidence as an authenticated issue of the St. Mary's City press. The accompanying illustrations (Plates II and III) contain, for purposes of comparison, portions of the *Address* and the whole of the bill of August, 1685. The clear, handsome roman letter, double pica in size, found in the subheading and imprint of the *Address* is seen to be identical in size and design with the letter in which the bill is printed. This typographical identity coupled with the documentary evidence (Plate I) that William Nuthead was in the public service in 1685 makes it reasonable to conclude that the bill (Plate III) came from the same establish-



Jan 1. 1687	The Honorable W <sup>m</sup> Digges	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> James Green	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> James Hilton	300
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> Robert Taylor	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> John Long	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> Reader and Dearcroft	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Wright	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> James Ellis	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> Braselton	200
March	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> Robert Lloyd	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200
April	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200
August	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200
November	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200
	To 2 fees ag <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Smith	200

PLATE I (reduced)

To the Kings most Excellent Mai<sup>ty</sup>.

Whereas we are with all humility fully assured that the fit of your Maiestyes glorious undertakings and blessing, for the Protestant Religion, and civil rights and libertye Subiects, was graciously intended to be Extensive, as well to the

PLATE IV

MARY-LAND

KNOW all Men by these Presents that We Mary  
Drouch & Maurice Barber  
are held and firmly bound, unto our Sovereign Lord  
and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, &c. In the full  
and just Sum of one hundred pounds

PLATE V

THE  
ADDRESS

Of the Representatives of their Majestyes Protestant  
Subjects, in the Province of Mary-Land Assembled.

Maryland printed by order of the Assembly at the Citty  
of St. Maryes August: 26th. 1689.

*This is a true copy of the Original*

*Attest*

*John Smith Secy*

I the said Lindeeth me *Emmally Richardson of*  
*St Marys* County in the Province of Mary-land  
in my Heires Executors Administrators or Assignes  
to pay or cause to be pay'd unto *William Rogers*  
of *the said* County - his Heires Execu-  
tors Administrators or Assignes the full and just Sum of  
*four hundred and twenty* pounds of good sound Mer-  
chantable Lease Tobacco and Caske convenient at *one*  
*last or Year* in *the said* County  
at or upon the *first* Day of *October* next En-  
suing the Date hereof as Witness my Hand and Seal this

*the* Day of August -

-1685

*Emmally* *Richardson*

Signature

*Agto 31*  
*Richardson*  
*Stephen M. Allen*

Signature

# MARYLAND:

**Y**ou are hereby desired to take the oaths of *Supremacy*  
*of the Pauls* Appraisors appoynted of the  
Goods and Chattels of *of John H. H. H.*  
late of your Conney Deceased that they make a just and true  
appraisement thereof in Money so far forth as the same shall come or be  
brought to their sight or knowledge, and to certify the time of their  
taking their said oaths under your hand and Seal into the office for  
probat of Wills &c. At *Annapolis* — and for so doing this shall  
be your warrant GIVEN under *my* hand and Seal this  
*31st* Day of *August* — in the — *19th* Yeare of  
the Raigne of our Sovereign Lord King William &c. Annoque Domini  
*1698*

*J. M. Williams*  
*Mag.*

*Remains*

ment as the *Address* (Plate II). There exist no grounds, so far as I am aware, for questioning the attribution of the *Address* to the press of William Nuthead.

Contributory evidence to the correctness of this conclusion is obtained from a comparison of other specimens, ranging in date from 1686 to 1698, with this key piece, the *Address* of 1689. The great primer italic, the great primer roman, the several display capitals employed in the blank forms designated (d) and (e) in our list, shown here in Plates V and VI, are found to be identical in size and face with the letters in the main heading, the initial, and the italic and roman text letters of the *Address* as displayed in Plates II and IV. Except for one series of display capitals there are, indeed, no fonts employed in the whole group of blank forms which are not found also in the *Address*, and none of any sort or size employed in the *Address* which are not found in one or another of the blank forms. The alternative, therefore, to accepting all these blank forms as from the Nuthead press is to suggest that they were printed in England, Pennsylvania, New York, or Massachusetts by a printer or printers possessing fonts of type identical with those owned by the printer of the *Address* of 1689, and using those types and no others for Maryland documents over a period of thirteen years. In view of the cumulative evidence, typographical and factual, of an opposite bearing presented here, I do not believe this alternative will be put forward.

But before it may be said that through the earliest of these blank forms, printed before August 31, 1685, Maryland may claim to have been the first colony south of Massachusetts to possess a permanent printing establishment, it is necessary to examine the circumstances under which printing was begun in Pennsylvania, the colony to which that distinction has hitherto been conceded.

There seems to exist no record of the actual date of arrival of William Bradford in Philadelphia, but judging from the sense and date of a letter of recommendation written in his behalf by George Fox to American Quakers, it is probable that

he did not leave England until some time in or after the sixth month, [i. e. August], 1685. In such case he could hardly have arrived in Philadelphia before the fall of that year.<sup>4</sup> But whatever the date of his arrival, he is not heard of professionally until the publication late in December of the *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, an almanac bearing his name as printer, Philadelphia as place of publication, and the imprint date, 1685.<sup>5</sup> Bradford's address, "The Printer to the Readers," is dated "the 28th 10th Month 1685," that is December 28, 1685. On the 9th of January 1685/86, he and Samuel Atkins, the compiler of the almanac, were brought before the Pennsylvania Council, and after Atkins had been reproved for speaking of William Penn in the introduction as "the Lord Penn,"

<sup>4</sup> Over date of "London, the 6 mo. 1685," that is, August, 1685, George Fox, in a letter addressed to twelve Friends in Rhode Island, East Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Jersey, and Maryland, wrote as follows: "This is to let you know that a sober young man that is A friend whose name is William Bradford comes to Pennsylvania to set up ye trade of Printing friends Books wch may be serviceable for your countries. . . ." This letter is printed in full in *The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries*, IV, 52, February, 1860. The whereabouts of the original is not known to me, but a copy of it in Bradford's youthful hand is among the Bradford papers in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For this information and for the following facts concerning the earliest records of the Bradfords in Pennsylvania, I am indebted to Dr. Julian P. Boyd, librarian of that Society, and Dr. Albert Cook Myers, who speaks always with exceptional knowledge of the minutiae of Pennsylvania history. Through Dr. Boyd, I have been informed by Dr. Myers that the certificate of removal of William and Elizabeth Bradford was deated London, August 12, 1685; that Elizabeth attended a Friends marriage ceremony in Philadelphia, December 17, 1685; and that the certificate of removal was received by the meeting at Philadelphia, January 4, 1685/86. In Dr. Myers's opinion, the Bradfords arrived in Pennsylvania early in November, 1685. (Letters of Julian P. Boyd to the author, September 30 and November 1, 1935.)

<sup>5</sup> Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing. The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, No. 1, where is given in photographic facsimile "The Printer to the Readers." The copy described by Hildeburn is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The only other perfect copy known, the Sewall-Brinley-Goelet copy, *Library of the late Ogden Goelet* (sale catalogue, American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, Part One, January 3 and 4, 1935), No. 5, is soon, I believe, to be fully described by its new owner, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.



Bradford was charged to print nothing thereafter without license.<sup>6</sup> Sometime, therefore, in this period of twelve days appeared the almanac which has heretofore been signalized as the earliest issue of the press in the English colonies south of Massachusetts. I give here in full the text of the address upon which, in part, that claim has been based. Its other foundation has been the absence of a printed piece of an earlier date proceeding from any neighboring colony.

#### THE PRINTER TO THE READERS

Hereby understand that after great Charge and Trouble, I have brought that great Art and Mystery of Printing into this part of America believing it may be of great service to you in several respects, hoping to find Encouragement, not only in this Almanack, but what else I shall enter upon for the use and service of the Inhabitants of these Parts. Some Irregularities, there be in this Diary, which I desire you to pass by this year; for being lately come hither, my Matereals were Misplaced, and out of order, whereupon I was forced to use Figures & Letters of various sizes, but understanding the want of something of this nature, and being importuned thereto, I ventured to make publiek this, desiring you to accept thereof, and by the next, (as I find encouragement) shall endeavor to have things compleat. And for the ease of Clarks, Scrivniers, &c. I propose to print blank Bills, Bonds, Letters of Attourney, Indentures, Warrants, &c. and what else presents it self, wherein I shall be ready to serve you; and remain your Friend,

Philadelphia, the 28th  
10th Month, 1685.

W. Bradford.

From the tone of this address "to the Readers," it seems clear that Bradford meant to say that because of his type being more or less in "pi" he had experienced trouble in getting his press into operation, and that this almanac was its first production. It is not likely that before this time he had issued any blank forms, for his language suggests that the printing of

<sup>6</sup> *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, I, 165.

those essential productions was to constitute a future activity of his press. The *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense* is invariably spoken of, indeed, by modern bibliographers as the first issue of his press and the earliest product of any English-American press save those of Cambridge and Boston. But if there was no issue of the Bradford press earlier than this *Kalendarium* of December 28, 1685, it seems clear that its first operation must have been later than that of the press which issued the Maryland blank form of August 31, 1685, and that, I believe, was the press which William Nuthead established at St. Mary's City, Maryland, at some undetermined time in the period between February, 1683, and August, 1685. Under William and Dinah Nuthead this first Maryland press operated for ten or more years, and never after its establishment was that Province without a printer except when death and the difficulty of obtaining a competent man in succession created short gaps in the record of its activity.

At this point, one asks what weight is to be allowed the often quoted statement in Bradford's address to his readers: "after great Charge and Trouble, I have brought that great Art and Mystery of Printing into this part of America." If, as has been generally supposed, this is an assertion of priority in the establishment of the press south of Massachusetts, it must be said that the words "this part of America" provide a description so vague in a geographical sense as materially to weaken the claim. The phrase, indeed, might refer with equal validity to the whole of the country south of Massachusetts or to the city of Philadelphia and its environs alone. It seems, therefore, that Bradford's assertion cannot be accepted as a definite claim for the priority of his press over all others south of Massachusetts, and when it is closely scrutinized, one begins to doubt whether it was intended to be so understood by its writer.

#### THE CONTRIBUTION OF DINAH NUTHEAD

An examination of the group of blank forms which has provided the basis of this discussion shows that two printers be-



sides William Nuthead were employed in their production.<sup>7</sup> At this time we are interested only in the first of these, Dinah Nuthead, the widow of our St. Mary's City printer.<sup>8</sup> William Nuthead died, probably, very early in 1695, for on February 7, 1694/95, Dinah, his widow, was appointed administratrix of his estate. There seems little possible connection between the provincial American craftsmen of our present interest and Queen Mary of England, but actually the date of that royal lady's death has a direct bearing upon at least one interesting problem in the history of printing in Maryland.

Queen Mary died on December 28, 1694. In the appended list of blank forms, those papers designated as (e), (f), (g), (h), and (i) run in the name and style of King William alone, and not, as in the case of (d), in the joint names of "our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary." Assuming that Dinah Nuthead applied for administration papers on her husband's estate at least a decent three days after his death, we might fix that event as having occurred not later than February 4, 1695. Between the day of the Queen's death and the death of William Nuthead lies a period of only five weeks and three days, and one can hardly conceive that within the period thus delimited the notification of the royal demise could have been officially prepared, sent across the Atlantic, and the necessary orders issued by the Maryland authorities in time for the printer to issue before his death blank forms running in the new style. The actual facts are that the official news was even slower in reaching the Maryland authorities than might be supposed. The event was known, indeed, in St. Mary's City sometime before May 10, 1695, but with only personal letters and London gazettes as the source of their information, both State and Church as late as that day were

<sup>7</sup> The reference is to Dinah Nuthead and Thomas Reading. In note No. 1, I have mentioned that among Mr. Trader's discoveries in the Land Office of Maryland were a number of blank forms that must have been printed by Thomas Reading. These are not discussed or listed in the present article, which is concerned only with the press of William and Dinah Nuthead.

<sup>8</sup> Such facts as are known to me of Dinah Nuthead's life and activity are found in my *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, Chapter I.

in embarrassment as to their procedure. It was no small matter that troubled them. Acts of government done in the name of a defunct sovereign might well be declared illegal; prayers in Church of England services for a queen already dead might be, and actually were, made the occasion by dissenters and Roman Catholics for pretending that the Anglicans had adopted the Roman practice of praying for the dead. The situation was discussed by the Assembly and on May 10, 1695, the Governor resolved all doubts as to procedure by a proclamation which read, in part, as follows:

Fryday May 10<sup>th</sup> 1695.

By his Ex<sup>ncy</sup> A Proclamation

Whereas the sad & most deplorable News of the Death of her Sacred Ma<sup>ty</sup> Queen Mary, of ever blessed memory, is lately made known in this Province as well by Letters from severall Merchants & Oth<sup>rs</sup> as also by the Gazetts & Votes of Parliamt<sup>t</sup> and hitherto no Significacōn thereof hath been given to Us from Whitehall; for want whereof noe legall alteracōn can (at present) be made in the Judiciall Proceedings of this Governmt<sup>t</sup>. Nevertheless for the Ease and Satisfaction of persons of Tender consciences in the Church of England, to take of [f] all Reflections which may be made by our Dissenters, and lastly to obviate all pretences of the Romanists, as if wee seem'd to pray for the dead, I have (by and with the advice of his Ma<sup>ts</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> Councill & house of Burgesses Assembled) thought fitt to publish and proclame, and I do hereby publish and proclame that the Name of her Sacred Ma<sup>ty</sup> be hereafter Omitted in all publick prayers & Service of the Church; . . .<sup>9</sup>

In this uncertain state, between actual death and official ignorance of it, Queen Mary's spirit haunted Maryland affairs for another three months, when the Council, backed by an authoritative communication of the news of her death, took the action set forth in the following minute:

August 14, 1695

His Ex<sup>ncy</sup> producing a Letter by him Reed from the R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> John Povey Esq<sup>r</sup> one of the Clks of his Ma<sup>ts</sup> most

<sup>9</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XIX, 144-145.

honorable privy Councill & Dep<sup>ty</sup> Secretary of the plantacon Office, Dated 9<sup>th</sup> of March last past, giving an Accot<sup>t</sup> of the great & irreparable Loss Recd by the death of her late Ma<sup>ty</sup> Queen Mary (of ever blessed & Glorious Memory) Ordered thereupon that proclamation issue to give notice thereof & that *for the future all manner of Writs process & proceedings, in the severall Courts & Offices of this Province issue & rune in the Name of King William the third &c.*<sup>10</sup>

The proclamation ordered in this act of the Council was issued by the Governor, Francis Nicholson, on August 19, 1695.

This excursion into an incident of 1695 may seem to have led us far from our Maryland press, but that is not so in reality, for it has shown us that blank forms could not have been issued in the name of King William alone until August 19, 1695, a day seven months after the death of William Nuthead. Those forms of our group that run in the King's name alone, printed with the Nuthead types in the period before the establishment of the Bladen-Reading press in 1700, must, therefore, have been printed by a successor of William Nuthead who was also the inheritor of his equipment. Under the circumstances now to be explained, that successor, I believe, could only have been Dinah Nuthead, his widow, the first woman to be licensed as a printer in English America.

Upon giving bond to the Governor, Dinah Nuthead, then described as of Annapolis, received on May 14, 1696,<sup>11</sup> a license to print blank forms of various sorts, but nothing except blank forms without special leave from Governor or Council. A week earlier the Upper House of Assembly had requested the Rev. Peregrine Coney to have his recent Thanksgiving sermon put into print. It seems that its members must have had Dinah's press in mind as the agency of publication, for her petition for a license to print of May 5 was fresh in their minds and there was no other press available for the purpose nearer than that

<sup>10</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XX, 273, 289. The last three lines are set in italic by the author for the sake of emphasis.

<sup>11</sup> See note 8. Dinah's license to print is found in the *Archives of Maryland*, XX, 449.

of William Bradford, moved three years since from Philadelphia to New York City. I do not believe the gentlemen of the Upper House were so impressed by Mr. Coney's sermon as to think of sending it to that distant city for publication. These considerations, however, make little difference one way or the other, for the Lower House does not seem to have supported the request of the Upper House, but rather to have contented itself merely with thanking Mr. Coney for his effort. It is probable, therefore, that whatever its merits, Mr. Coney's discourse did not get as far as Dinah's press and that we should be wasting time to look for a printed copy of it. Certainly no copy of such a sermon has been recorded in modern times, and until the discovery of four forms in the Land Office and of one in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, the latter designated in our list as (g), we have known of Dinah's press only by her agreement with the governor for its proper conduct.

It is not known whether Dinah Nuthead continued the business of her husband's press in St. Mary's City in the year following the death of its proprietor, or whether, packing up the press, she followed the government to Annapolis immediately upon its removal thither in the spring of 1695. She was not actually licensed to print until nearly nine months after the date of the Governor's proclamation concerning the new royal style, but in those intervening months, in one place or the other, she could well have printed the forms in the new style by a special license of the Governor. But having been mentioned, that possibility may hereafter be disregarded in favor of a known circumstance. The forms which run in the name of King William alone are all dated later than the day upon which Dinah Nuthead, then described as of Annapolis, received her license to print, so that it seems advisable to regard Annapolis as their place of publication, and, so far as the present evidence shows, the sole seat of Dinah's press.

The first press of English America, that of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was brought into this country by Mrs. Jose Glover as part of the estate of her husband, the Rev. Jose Glover, who had died upon the voyage hither. The press was

very soon put into operation by Stephen Daye in accordance with plans formed by Mr. Glover. We shall probably never know the exact nature of Mrs. Glover's connection with the establishment of this most famous of American presses, but it is clear enough that she stood in the position of owner of the press during its early years.<sup>12</sup> Whether we should designate her, therefore, as the first woman printer of the United States, or whether that distinction belongs to Dinah Nuthead is a question I am content to leave unresolved, merely affirming that except for Mrs. Glover, Dinah Nuthead is the first woman to be mentioned in connection with the history of printing in what is now the United States. Mrs. Nuthead seems to have established a tradition in Maryland of an association of women with printing, for in later years in that colony we find important establishments conducted by women distinguished in American typographical history, notably by Anne Catharine Green and Mary Katherine Goddard.

It is not easy to see in what capacity Dinah Nuthead worked in the establishment she controlled. She was so far from being a woman of education that she was compelled to make her mark to the bond she gave the governor. She could, of course, have worked as pressman, but that was not usually regarded as woman's work. Whether an inability to write meant necessarily an inability to read, I do not know, but I should think that her skill as a compositor would be very seriously in question because of her ignorance of the art of writing. On the other hand many strange combinations of skills are possible. All of us remember the young woman in the play, Sis Hopkins, I believe it was, who professed that she could read readin', but could not read writin'. Perhaps Dinah Nuthead could claim some variant of this combination. At any rate most of the composing done in her shop, as shown in the forms before us, was truly poor enough to have been done by an illiterate

<sup>12</sup> Littlefield, *Early Massachusetts Press*, early chapters of Volume One, gives abundance of detail concerning the Glovers and the celebrated press they established at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

compositor. But the fact remains that by the mere continuance of her husband's press for a short time after his death, Dinah Nuthead did her part in keeping alight the torch. It is probable that successive remarriages prevented her from carrying the venture to a more distinguished end. Not long after the death in 1700 of her second husband, Manus Devoran, she took a third in the person of Sebastian Oley, who died in 1707, leaving her with three children of her own and two step-children. In the meantime, the printing business of the Province had been taken over by Thomas Reading, a printer brought to Annapolis by William Bladen in 1700.

It may seem that all this pother about a handful of crudely printed blank forms and a few short months of priority in certain obscure events of two hundred and fifty years ago is a matter of small concern. So it is, and so is most discussion about single facts of past action or thought. It is the aggregate of such facts, however, that forms the thing we call history, and it behooves us to know the truth of the least of them. Not very many years ago the cultural life of Maryland, so far as cultural life is reflected by the printed record of a community's thought, was generally believed to have begun with the establishment of the press of William Parks at Annapolis in 1726. That date appears in many of the standard histories and bibliographies of past years, and despite the evidence of an earlier origin brought out in recent writings, it is still recorded as the first in Maryland printing history in the successive volumes of Evan's *American Bibliography*. It is important, therefore, in the study of American typographical history to examine carefully all newly discovered data relating to Maryland origins and to draw from it such inferences as seem to affect the record.

If anyone is inclined to think condescendingly of the printed blank forms here discussed as pieces of small importance, as forming a foundation hardly worthy of the structure that we have built upon them, he may remind himself that the end is not yet and that other early productions of the Nuthead press of greater cultural significance than these blank forms may one day be discovered. Of the twenty-four pieces recorded as

probable or certain issues of the Massachusetts press in the first ten years of its operation, eleven only are known to exist in actual copies, and Massachusetts is a community in which the care and preservation of the printed piece have been traditional from earliest times. It has been suggested upon good grounds that the probable output of the whole colonial American press is nearly five times greater than the number of titles now remaining in actual copies or in records of their printing. The possibility exists, therefore, that Maryland imprints other than blank forms will yet be discovered for the period 1685 to 1689. In the later of these years, the Maryland press assumed at once a position of dignity equal to that of the presses of Cambridge, Boston, or Philadelphia, for its two known publications of that year, the *Declaration* and the *Address*, are important documents in the history of American political action. The true significance of the blank forms we have been discussing at such length is that they witness the existence of a printing establishment in St. Mary's City as early as August, 1685, which was capable of producing in 1689 such socially important documents as this *Declaration of the Reasons and Motives* and the *Address of their Majestyes Protestant Subjects*.

FORMS PRINTED BY  
WILLIAM NUTHEAD IN ST. MARY'S CITY

(a) *This Bill bindeth me*

Variety: Bill Obligatory.

No. of lines: 12.

Last line reads: "— Day of — 168 —"

Earliest date found: 31 August 1685.

Type size and face: double pica, roman, of sub-heading and imprint of the *Address*. See Plate III.

Leaf measures, photostat copy:  $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

(b) MARYLAND<sup>SS</sup>.

*Know all Men by these Presents that Wee*

Variety: Administrators' Bond.

No. of text lines: 36, exclusive of two lines below text in lower left hand corner, reading, "Signed Sealed and Delivered in Presents of Us."

Last line reads: "and vertue in Law."

Earliest date found: 20 December 1686.

Type size and face: great primer, italic, of parts of the *Address*.

Leaf measures, photostat copy:  $12\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$  inches.

(c) MARYLAND<sup>ss</sup>

*Know all Men by these Presents that*

Variety: Personal Bond.

No. of text lines: 22, exclusive of two lines in roman below text in lower left hand corner, reading, "Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of Us."

Last line reads: "Effect otherwise to stand remain and be in full Force Power and Vertue."

Earliest date found: 23 July 1688.

Type size and face: great primer, italic, of form (b).

Leaf measures, photostat copy:  $13 \times 8$  inches.

(d) MARYLAND<sup>ss</sup>.

*Know all Men by these Presents that We*

Variety: Administrators' Bond.

No. of text lines: 36, not counting second line, which is blank, and not counting two lines below the text in lower left hand corner, reading, "Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of us."

Last line reads: "remain and be in full force power and vertue in law."

Earliest date found: 26 June 1693.

Type size and face: great primer, italic, of form (b).

Leaf measures, photostat copy:  $11\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$  inches.

FORMS PRINTED BY

DINAH NUTHEAD AT ANNAPOLIS

(e) MARYLAND<sup>sl</sup>[sic]:

*You are hereby desired to take the oaths of*

Variety: Warrant for the Qualification of Appraisors.

No. of text lines: 12.

Last line reads: "mini,—"

Earliest date found: 31 August 1696.

Type size and face: great primer, roman, of body of the *Address*. See Plate VI.

Leaf measures, photostat copy:  $5\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$  inches.



(f) MARY-LAND<sup>ss</sup>—*Know all Men by these Presents that We*

Variety: Administrators' Bond.

No. of text lines: 32, not counting second line, which is blank, and not counting two lines below text in lower left corner, reading, "Sealed and Dalivered [sic] in the Presence of us."

Last line reads: "Effect, otherwise to stand remain [sic] and be in full force power and vertue in law."

Earliest date found: 30 September 1696.

Type size and face: great primer, italic, of form (b).

Leaf measures, photostat copy: 13 x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches.(g) *William by the grace of God King of England Scotland Fance* [sic] *and*

Variety: Letters Testamentary.

No. of text lines: 22.

Last line reads: "Domini Witnes [sic]"

Earliest date found: 4 January 1698.

Type size and face: great primer, roman, of the text of the *Address*.Leaf measures, photostat copy: 7 x 9 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches.(h) *Another printing, with corrections and with some new errors, of (e), above.*

First line reads: MARY-LAND:

Line 6: "knowledge" instead of "kuowledge" as in (e).

Line 7: "thire," instead of "their" as in (e).

Earliest date found: 16 April 1702.

This is after Dinah Nuthead's date, but it seems clear that this form is a holdover from her time.

(i) *Another issue of (f), above.*First line reads: MARY-LAND<sup>sl</sup>—

Earliest date found: 11 September 1699.

## CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER: THE MAN.\*

By W. STULL HOLT,  
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Sometime in January 1767 Scott Pringle and Company, merchants at Madeira, received an order from a new customer living in Annapolis, Maryland. He wanted—by the first vessel coming to Annapolis—a pipe of the best madeira wine and the letter went on “as it is for my own table use I would have it of the very prime kind—two or three years old or more if it can be got of equal goodness in quality with what may be bought of the last vintages and tho it should cost me more I shall willingly allow it.” There was nothing unusual in this order. Scott Pringle & Co. were prominent merchants who shipped many pipes of fine madeira to the continental colonies. What makes the letter noteworthy is another instruction of the new customer. “There are,” he wrote, “so many of the name in this town that some particular distinction is necessary to prevent mistakes please therefore to direct to me Councillor or Barrister at Law and when you write to Mr. Anderson [the London merchant who would pay for the wine] be pleased to mention me with that addition.”<sup>1</sup>

Charles Carroll, Barrister, was the second generation of his family to suffer at least minor annoyance from the failure of his

\* An address given as the Emilie McKim Reed Memorial Lecture before The Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

<sup>1</sup> Carroll MSS. Dec. 6, 1766. A note shows the letter went on Dec. 24 by the Sloop Potts, Capt. Geo. Cook. The letterbooks, from which nearly all the materials for this article are drawn, contain the correspondence of both Dr. Charles Carroll and his son Charles Carroll, Barrister. The letters of Dr. Carroll have been published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and will be cited here as Carroll Letters with the appropriate volume. The letters of Barrister Carroll were copied and the manuscript copies are in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. They will be cited as Carroll MSS.

name to distinguish him from others. Twenty-four years earlier his father, Dr. Charles Carroll, had written with some asperity that a lady who claimed him as uncle was certainly mistaken, "nature having left it Impossible that I should have such a relation having had but one Brother Who died Unmarried." He did not feel obliged "to give Ear to an Impertinent or Groundless Claim nor will the circumstances of my Fortune permit me to be lavish, and I very well know all the Relations I have Who are Intituled to a Just Claim on me." He would, he wrote, "Recommend to her to be Better provided with circumstances and certainty in her next claim of Kindred."<sup>2</sup>

The needy lady in search of a rich relative should not be hastily blamed. The trouble was, and is, that in Maryland during the middle of the eighteenth century there were four Charles Carrolls who achieved prominence. In addition to the Barrister and his father, Dr. Charles Carroll, there was, of course, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his father, Charles Carroll. The two families were related but not closely, nor were they intimate. Perhaps the fact that Dr. Carroll had become a Protestant may help to explain the lack of intimacy.

Fortunately there was no AAA to plow under the surplus of Charles Carrolls, for they rendered distinguished service to their country. The two younger men were leaders in the movement for independence. The part played by Charles Carroll of Carrollton was such that there is no history of the American Revolution, however brief, that does not include some account of him. The activities of Charles Carroll, Barrister, although scarcely less important, are not widely known. Yet every history of Maryland during the Revolution tells of his leadership in the community. He served on most of the important committees in the conventions in Maryland and framed or helped to frame some of the great state documents. He was a member of the committee of correspondence. He was put on the council of safety, he presided over several conventions, including the one that relieved Governor Eden of his office; he was one of the

<sup>2</sup> Carroll Letters, *M. H. M.*, XX, 362-363.

seven most distinguished patriots appointed to prepare a declaration and charter of rights and a form of government for the state of Maryland; he was elected to Congress, and having declined the chief judgeship of the general court he was elected to the first State Senate, an office he held until his death.

The official records that trace his public career cast little light on the man himself. They prove, of course, that the people of Maryland recognized in him one of their leaders. They prove he gave himself freely to the cause and that neither sickness nor danger caused him to hold back. But official records from their very nature do not usually supply the materials necessary for an account of the private citizen or for an understanding of how he lived and what he read and ate and wore. Fortunately in this case other materials are available. Both father and son kept copies of their voluminous business correspondence and these have been preserved. When the present owner, Mr. Alexander Preston, loaned them to the Maryland Historical Society the letters of Dr. Charles Carroll were published in its magazine and the letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister, were copied in manuscript. Together they constitute a rich mine of Maryland history.

It is at once apparent that the doctor was a good father. Indeed Dr. Carroll is well worth close attention in his own right. Coming to Maryland from Ireland around 1715 he began a career typical of those successful energetic men who seized the opportunities the new world offered. He practised medicine for several years, then turned to tobacco. When tobacco ceased to be profitable he built ships and sent flour and foodstuffs to the sugar islands in the West Indies. But the large fortune he ultimately accumulated was derived from land and iron. Everyone in America invested and speculated in real estate in the confident belief that the growth of population would increase the price of land. Dr. Carroll operated on a large scale, although his holdings did not attain the proportions of those of the Dulanys or the Carroll of Carrollton family. The iron business was not so typical but it was the foundation of the fortunes of a number of Maryland families. In 1733 Dr.

Carroll deeded 1800 acres of land lying on the west side of Gwinn's Falls to a company consisting of himself, Benjamin Tasker, Daniel Dulany, Charles Carroll (the father of Carroll of Carrollton) and Daniel Carroll of Duddington Manor. The iron furnace erected on this land was immediately successful and the industry prospered. By the 1770s about 3100 tons of bar and pig iron were exported annually and a fifth interest in the Baltimore Iron Company which had cost £700 in 1733 was sold for £5,200 in 1765 when the estate of Col. Tasker was settled. In addition to his share in the company Dr. Carroll engaged in the manufacture of iron as an individual.<sup>3</sup>

This brief statement gives a deceptive picture of continuous prosperity. A close examination reveals that there were depressions in those days too. In the 1740s Dr. Carroll was in desperate financial straits. To his London merchant and banker he wrote this cold comfort. "I am too old to run away nor do I know well where to Run to, the Rice trade is as bad as ours and I shall want more Cloaths if I go Northward therefore I hope you will contribute to keep me here a little longer till better times."<sup>4</sup>

During these periods of depression Dr. Carroll's pugnacity and irritability were frequently expressed in his correspondence. He would write sarcastically about interest charges and about low prices for his goods. On one occasion he had a heated dispute with his partners in the iron business and a lawsuit with the Catholic Carrolls. "The whole Popish Interest have Levelled their Artillery Agt me," he wrote bitterly.<sup>5</sup>

But to his son he was a gentle—even an indulgent—parent.

<sup>3</sup> William B. Marye, "The Baltimore County 'Garrison' and the Old Garrison Roads," *M. H. M.*, XVI, 228, n. 35. Numerous references to his activities in the iron business can be found in Dr. Carroll's letters. There is a brief account of him and the iron business in a manuscript dissertation by Charles A. Barker entitled "The Background of the Revolutionary Movement in Maryland" in the Yale University Library. For the exports of iron in the 1770s see *M. H. M.*, II, 358.

<sup>4</sup> Carroll Letters, XXII, 191. Many other letters during this period show how desperate his financial condition was.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI, 51.

In 1731 when the future Barrister was only 8 years old Dr. Carroll wrote to relatives in Ireland asking for advice as to "where to place my little boy for his Education being resolved (with gods Assistance) to give him the best I am able."<sup>6</sup> Three years later his father was taking him to England when bad weather drove their ship to Lisbon, as Dr. Carroll described it, "the Child being much Fatigued with the Voyage I left him there at the English College on Bacco Alt Under the Care of Mr. Edward Jones the President of the same College."<sup>7</sup> Young Charles remained in Europe until the summer of 1746, or until he was 23 years old. How long he stayed in Portugal is not clear, but probably most of the time was spent in England where he ultimately attended Cambridge University. A letter to one of his professors suggests the possibility that the young man did not make a brilliant record as a student. "It is," the father wrote, "a pleasure to me to find by yours that if he will not make a bright Schollar he may a Virtuous man. I Likewise flatter myself that you will Endeavour to Emprove the Talent he has for Learning in the best manner and promote his Aplycation to Study's."<sup>8</sup> Young Charles received many of those kindly sermons which fathers still send to their sons away at college. Here is a typical one written in 1742. "This money I hope you will lay out in Necessaries for your Person, or Endowment of Your mind & not spend in wine or Riot. Remark, that Women & Wine are the Bane of youth.

Pray take oppertunities to Improve in your Dancing some of this money may be apld that way a Genteele Carriage in Person as well as behaveour is becomeing, make good choice of Your Company avoid such as are Prophaine or Extravagant.

This is Your time to Provide for Your Future Life, I will Endeavor hard to give you oppertunities of a good Education with weh you must hereafter Provide for yourself."<sup>9</sup>

From 1746 to 1751 young Carroll lived in Maryland and there is no evidence showing what he did. In the latter year

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 190.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 369.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 362.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 171.

he again returned to England, this time to read law in the Temple so as to qualify himself for that profession. The family fortunes had revived. According to a letter from his father not long afterwards young Charles himself owned lands, slaves and stock worth £2000 and the father's property was valued at £10,000 sterling and £5000 currency. Naturally his allowance for living expenses was liberal. It amounted to £300 a year, a very considerable sum for a man of 28 in 1751.<sup>10</sup>

Although his father still sent him an occasional lecture on the need for frugality and virtue he was no longer an inexperienced youth and his father consulted him on business matters and legal questions.<sup>11</sup> Young Charles must have considered remaining permanently in England for his father opposed the idea in these terms: "as to any notion of settleing there I fear it will not answer for Ladies of ffortune will scarce give it to fforeigners whose Estates they deem in England very precarious Therefore you must fix your Eye for future Life in Maryland." <sup>12</sup>

While Charles was in England his younger and only brother died. This letter bearing the news revealed how keenly his father felt the blow. "Dear Charles," he wrote, "This Day about four o'Clock in the afternoon died here in my arms your Brother John Henry in the same manner that he lived in Innocence & free of pain & without a Convulsive Distortion, but entirely Wore away with a Confirmed Consumption his Senses lasted to the last moment & desired we should not be Concerned . . . I have lost an Agreeable Companion & friend in him but hope he is Gone to better I am now wishing to have you here with me least my Eyes should Close before I see you." <sup>13</sup>

In spite of this pathetic appeal Charles, with his father's approval and consent, did not return for over a year. Sometime

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 249; XXVII, 221.

<sup>11</sup> See for example the long and detailed proposal for forming another iron company or partnership in *ibid.*, XXV, 284-289, 293-301.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII, 221.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI, 242-243.

in the summer of 1755 he reached Annapolis, but his father was not able to enjoy his company for long. On Sept. 29 of that year Dr. Carroll died.<sup>14</sup>

The Barrister thus became at the age of 32 one of the wealthiest members of the Maryland aristocracy, that aristocracy pictured so pleasantly and flatteringly by William Eddis. He had spent a large portion of his life in England receiving as good an education as that country offered. About 5 feet 8 inches in height he was already beginning to assume the portly figure that his later portraits show. He was only 35 when he had to warn his London tailor that "I am through laziness something Fatter than when I left you."<sup>15</sup> Obviously he appreciated fine clothes and furniture but they were to be in good taste and not flamboyant. Thus in ordering furniture he desired it to be "of the neat Plain fasshion and Calculated for Lasting nothing of the whimsical or Chinese Tast which I abominate."<sup>16</sup> On another occasion he ordered mirrors with gilt frames "of the Plain Genteel Fashion."<sup>17</sup> His tailor, told to send one ordinary suit and "one full Trimmed Dress suit fine Cloth with Fasshionable Double Gold Lace Coat waistcoat and Breeches . . . about twenty-five pounds. . . .," received the further instruction that neither suit was "to be made in the Extremity of the Fashion."<sup>18</sup>

Rich, cultured and young, Charles Carroll, Barrister, must have received many invitations from mothers with eligible daughters. Indeed there was only one thing that might make a mother hesitate. His health was none too good. Every year he suffered from fever and ague in spite of all the remedies he tried. One summer he made what he called "an Excursion as far as Boston in order to Escape my Troublesome annual visitant the fever and ague but had not Been Returned to Annapolis four Days before I was siezed with it in a more violent manner

<sup>14</sup> The eulogy and biographical comments published in the *Maryland Gazette* are printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII, 212.

<sup>15</sup> Carroll MSS. To William Anderson, merchant in London, Aug. 20, 1788.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 1760.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*



than at any of its former attacks.”<sup>19</sup> In the following year on the advice of his physicians he sent to England for “Pyrmont and German Spaw waters to subdue my Inveterate Enemy the fever and ague.”<sup>20</sup> At considerable expense these were sent to him in two quart bottles, several dozen at a time so that they would be fresh. Needless to add, this remedy too did his malaria no good.

Whatever the reason the Barrister remained a bachelor until 1763, when he was 40 years old. Then he married Margaret, the 21 year old daughter of Matthew Tilghman.<sup>21</sup> Judging from the little evidence available in his business correspondence the marriage was an unusually happy one. Indeed there is a noticeable change in the tone of even his business letters after 1763. Before then complaints and instances of irritation were not infrequent. The goods he ordered had not come in time, the prices were too high, the insurance underwriters were untrustworthy, no ships were available to take his iron, the china dishes sent were full of holes. He asked Col. John Taylor of Richmond to put a claim of his into the hands of some honest attorney “if any such there be,” a slur on the legal profession that brought an immediate protest from the Virginian.<sup>22</sup> After 1763 everything is different. Serenity and kindness prevail and when a complaint is necessary it is made gently or humorously. For instance his wife asserted the tea they received was inferior to that which the same merchant sent her father. Carroll wrote this gentle rebuke—“My Compliments Likewise in a Particular manner to the Good Knight Alderman and Grocer Sir Thomas Rawlinson and Let him know that Imposing upon a man is by no means a Deed of Chivalry if he does not mend his manners and send me Better Tea [tell him] I shall think

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* To William Anderson, Sept. 27, 1762.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1764.

<sup>21</sup> If the account of the wedding in the *Maryland Gazette* can be believed she was “a young Lady of great Merit, Beauty, and Fortune.” The item from the *Maryland Gazette* is reprinted in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII, 170.

<sup>22</sup> Carroll MSS., Feb. 27, 1756, and April 13, 1756.

the Touch of his Majesty's sword has no more Virtue than the Imposition of Hands of a Bishop it Gives only a Little Pride and Leaves the Morals and Principles of a man just where it found them." <sup>23</sup>

Whether this change was produced by matrimony or by greater prosperity when peace ended the ruinous wartime insurance rates, or by the mellowness that begins at forty cannot be stated.

Certainly his income increased steadily. It was derived from rents and mortgages on land and especially from the sale of iron in England. Apparently Carroll never practiced law at all, even though Winston Churchill made him act as Richard Carvel's lawyer.

How a man spends his income is perhaps a better key to his character than how he gets it. The way in which Charles Carroll and his wife spent their income, or rather that portion of it which was spent in England is clear. At least once a year and usually more often a long invoice of goods wanted went to their merchant in England. These lists often extended over five or six large folio pages and they contain a curious assortment of articles. From London he ordered a good marble tombstone "with the Inclosed epitaph for my Father. I would have his Coat of Arms which you have cut on the Top of it over the Epitaph." <sup>24</sup> From Bristol in 1767 at a cost of about £80 he ordered stone and marble columns. "The plan is," Carroll wrote, "for a Portico or Colonnade to be Joined to the Front of a House and Project Eight Feet from it, an Arch at Both Ends, for a Passage through it to spring from Pilasters of Stone Joined to the End Pillars of the front of the Portico." <sup>25</sup> He enclosed a plan with exact measurements and made some suggestions as to the best method of shipping the columns without breaking them. Undoubtedly these were for his beautiful home,

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, to William and James Anderson, Oct. 29, 1767, and Aug. 13, 1768.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, to William Anderson, Sept. 23, 1761.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, to Messrs. Sedgley Hilhouse and Randolph, merchants in Bristol, July 27, 1767.

Mount Clare, the only colonial house now standing within the city limits of Baltimore, and the one for whose preservation your Society deserves so much praise. Tradition has it that the bricks used in Mount Clare were imported from England but there is no evidence in this large collection of papers that the Barrister or his father ever imported any bricks. He did import, again from Bristol, "150 Grey Flag Stones for Paving Passages I think they are 18 inches square and come in at 3/ per yard they must be thick and strong as they are for an outside Piazza." <sup>26</sup>

Among the long list are such items as these: "One full Dressed Ladies suit of Cloths of Rich white Ground Brocade if can be got and fashionable with a slight Gold sprig of flower Interspersed send in a yard of the same to spare.

A suitable Laced Head Dress and Ruffles and Handkerchief etc of Lace about two Guineas per yard

A suitable Stomacher and Bows

1 Fashionable Silk Hat

1 Stomacher made with blond Lace and flowers

1/2 Dozen best Ivory Dandrif Combs

1 Beer Kettle to Hang on a Hook to Hold 18 Gallons

1 Good English Carpet with Lively Colours 12/4 by 14  
the best book of cooking published

A Ladys velvet Large Cloak or Cardinal of a fashionable Colour and Lined with Shag or fur as it is for winter wear

A Ladys watch . . . set in Gold and cut on Carnelian or other Hard Stone the Coat of Arms Inclosed being the Tilghmans Quartered with mine which you have or it may be Got at the Heralds office

Seeds of various kinds, brocoli, celery, grass, fruit trees

An Arabian horse

One Turkey Carpet suitable for a Room 25 feet Long and twenty Broad at about Ten Guineas

12 Mahogany chairs with black Leather seats of the Neat Plain Fasson and strong at about two Pounds p Chair.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1764.

2 suitable Mahogany Dining Tables made so as to fit into each other if occasion Lengthways about £3 each

One four Wheeled post Chariot . . . for Town use "

These are enough to illustrate his purchases. Clothes, furniture and wines were the most frequent items. Shopping under these circumstances was a difficult process. It is no wonder that Mrs. Carroll at times had to complain that her shoes were not what they should be. The colonists were completely at the mercy of the taste of their English merchants, a fact which is sometimes forgotten when we praise the early American esthetic standards for selecting such beautiful furniture. But just as the colonial depended upon the integrity and skill of his English merchant for the sale of his goods so also was he dependent upon the merchant's discrimination in the purchase of his household articles. They even had to depend on the judgment of their English businessman in the selection of a cook. "We are," wrote Carroll in 1768, "in want of a Sober orderly woman of a Good Character that understands Cooking Pickling Preserving and the other Requisites for a Housekeeper if Elderly we shall Like her the Better I suppose such are to be met with that would on moderate wages I suppose about Ten or Twelve Pounds Sterling per Annum Come to a Good Place Here for some years we shall be much obliged if such a one to be Got that you would agree with Her for us on the best Terms and send her to us if above the ordinary Rank of servants my wife will Like her Better, as she will meet with all kind Treatment But she must not be of the flirting kind or one that will give herself airs." <sup>27</sup>

Evidently the servant problem was a serious one for the Barister since in requesting his merchant to send out under indenture a gardner and a tanner he requested that they be over 30 years of age "as they are more Likely to be Riotous and Troublesome if young." <sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, to William and James Anderson, Aug. 13, 1768, and Dec. 15, 1768.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, to Messrs. Sedgley Hilhouse and Randoph, Jan. 28, 1768.

Among the many things purchased in England none could serve as a better guide to the type of mind Carroll had than the books that were included. One of the best ways to judge a man is by the literature he reads. Unless he intended them all for presents, and that is highly improbable, the Barrister had a scholarly cultured mind. A large proportion of his shopping lists included a number of books and their titles indicate his interests and good taste. Among them were:

Sir William Temples works  
 Lord Shaftsburys works  
 Lord Molesworths History of Denmark  
 Keatings History of Ireland or the best Irish History published  
 Gordons Independent Whig and Remarks on Tacitus  
 Maccheavel's Political Discourses on Livy Trans from Italian  
 Montesques Spirit of Laws  
 the age of Lewis the fourteenth by Voltaire  
     both translated from the French  
 The Analysis of Montesquieus Spirit of Laws by Mr. De  
     Alembert  
 Cardinal D'Retz's memoirs  
 Davilas History of the Civil wars in France  
 Pompadours Memoirs  
 Dialogues of the Dead  
 Tacitus History  
 Johnson's English Dictionary in Folio  
 Francis's Horace  
 The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon

Frequently he sent instructions to his bookseller to forward 20 shillings worth of the best pamphlets. Once he said that none of them should concern "Religious Controversy" but should be the best political pamphlets especially any that relate to the colonies.<sup>29</sup> He also wanted the *Gentlemans Magazine* sent to him regularly.

That he was a true Maryland gentleman of the period and did not spend all his time in the library is proven by another letter in which, when ordering a stop watch with a second hand, he

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, to William Anderson, Oct. 4, 1764.

said he needed it "as I am Concerned in the Blood or Running Breed of Horses."<sup>30</sup>

In another and more important way Carroll showed himself to be a true aristocrat. *Noblesse oblige* were not empty words to him for he fully accepted the responsibility of a person occupying a position such as his to support the education of talented youths. A young saddle maker in Annapolis, named Charles Willson Peale, had given great promise as an artist. Several Maryland gentlemen donated funds so that he could visit England and receive the training he needed for a successful career. Not only was the Barrister among the group but he manifested a personal interest and used his best efforts to promote the cause of American art as these letters will testify. The first is to his merchant banker in London:<sup>31</sup>

Sir:

The Bearer hereof Charles Wilson Peale a young man of this Town has a Turn for Limning and some other Branches of Painting He has Likewise Pretensions to an interest in oxfordshire as his Circumstances are but Low I am willing to advance twenty or twenty five Guineas to Enable him to take a Trip to England to see what he can make of his Pretensions and to Get some further Insight into the Profession. I Desire therefore that you will at times as he shall want it Let him have in the whole to the amount of the above Sum and Charge the same to my account If it Lays in your way and you Can Recommend him to the Employ of or Git Him Introduced to any of the Profession it may be of Service to him and I shall be obliged to you as I have no other motive to what I advance but to Give him an opportunity of Improving Himself That he may be better able to Support himself and Family I hope he will behave with Diligence and Frugality

I am Sir your mt hble Servt.

C. C.

About a year later or on Oct. 29, 1767, Charles Carroll wrote another letter, this time addressed to Peale, which not only reveals the man but shows his good judgment as a patron. This letter too is worth reading in full.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1764.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1766.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1767.

Mr. Peale

It was a Pleasure to me to find by yours of the 17th March last that you were in a way of Acquiring some Improvement in your Profession but I was a Little surprized to hear from Mr. Anderson that you had thoughts of Leaving England to sail for Maryland the November following the Dates of your letters as I supposed you would make your stay in England as Long as Possible to Git all the Insight you Could and as I Calculated the Assistance you Carried from Hence would Enable you to Make a Longer stay but I hope both Mr. Anderson and myself were mistaken and that you have Conducted yourself with that Prudence and Frugality that you will not have occasion to hurry away before you have in some Measure attained the Ends for which you went. You are to Consider that you will never be able to make up to yourself and family the Loss of the opportunity and that those by whom you have been assisted will be sorry to find their money thrown away but I hope as I before said that I have been mistaken and those hints are unnecessary I have wrote to Mr. Anderson and left it to his Discretion in Case he should Judge you Deserving to advance you Eight or Ten Guineas more on my Account.

I observe your Inclination Leads you much to Painting in miniature I would have you Consider whether that may be so advantageous to you here or whether it may suit so much with the Taste of the People with us as Larger Portrait Painting which I think would be a Branch of the Profession that would Turn out to Greater Profit here you Likewise mention the Copying of Good Painting by which I suppose you mean the study of History Painting This I look upon as the most Difficult Part of the Profession and Requires the utmost Genius in the artist few arrive at a high Point of Perfection in it and indeed in this Part of the world few have a Taste for it and very few Can go thro' the Experience of Giving that Encouragement that such an artist would Desire but after all Consult and be guided by the best of your own Genius and Study that Branch to which your Disposition Leads you and that you Judge most suitable to your Talents you had better be a Good Painter in Miniature than an Indifferent one in Either of the other Branches and be Assured that what I have above wrote and mentioned Proceeds from my Desire of your Welfare As I am

Your Friend and Servant

Cha. Carroll

Evidently Peale thought this advice sound for, as is well known, he made his reputation and fortune upon his return to America as a painter of "Larger" portraits. Very appropriately he expressed his gratitude to the Barrister by painting his picture and that of Mrs. Carroll.

The same sense of *noblesse oblige* characterized the Barrister's public career which began about this same time. How much it interfered with his private life cannot be told for this rich collection of letters stops in June 1769. But even without corroborating evidence from the public records anyone who has read his private correspondence will be confident that he remained until his death in 1783, a sensible cultured patrician.

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## BENJAMIN H. LATROBE AND THE CLASSICAL INFLUENCE IN HIS WORK.

WILLIAM SENER RUSK.

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In the case of Benjamin H. Latrobe, the facts of his career are already well known, and generally speaking, readily available. In the discussion here we shall, therefore, limit ourselves to a brief summary, with the sources indicated, a list of his works wherever known, with their illustration, and a discussion, as occasion warrants, of his classical prototypes. *The Journal of Latrobe* (1), with its introduction by his son, John H. B. Latrobe, is probably the best source to begin with. As a corollary would come *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times*, by John E. Semmes (2), with its numerous early references to the father, and the extract from Latrobe's diaries in *Appleton's Book-lovers' Magazine* (2a). Early appreciations of Latrobe's career are found in *Ackermann's Repository* for January, 1821 (3), and in Dunlap's *Arts of Design* (3a). Another convenient summary is found in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (3b). Latrobe's own literary works include, *Charac-*



*teristic Anecdotes . . . to illustrate the character of Frederick II, late King of Prussia*, London, 1788 (4), and, *Authentic Elucidation of the History of Counts Struensee and Brandt, and of the Revolution in Denmark in the year 1772*, London, 1789 (translated from the German) (5), and an Anniversary Oration, May 8, 1811, before the Society of Artists in Philadelphia (6). The latest survey, prior to the projected publication by F. C. Latrobe, Frederick, Maryland, is by Fiske Kimball, in the recent volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* (7). Another recent survey is by Rexford Newcomb (7a).

The next part of our bibliography would be references to works of Latrobe with their criticism; first, general publications, with Latrobe mentioned among others. F. Kimball, *Domestic Architecture* (8), and Howard Major, *Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic: The Greek Revival* (9) would head the list. F. Kimball's *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (10), I. T. Frary, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect and Builder* (11), T. T. Waterman and J. A. Barrows, *Domestic Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* (12), J. M. Howells, *Lost Examples of Colonial Architecture* (13), T. F. Hamlin, *American Spirit in Architecture* (14), T. E. Tallmadge, *Story of Architecture in America* (15), F. Kimball, *American Architecture* (16), G. H. Edgell, *American Architecture of Today* (17), W. R. Ware, *Georgian Period* (17a), J. Jackson, *Early Philadelphia Architects and Engineers* (17b), and J. Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia* (17c) would naturally follow. Individual buildings by Latrobe would come next. *The Documentary History* (18) and Glenn Brown, *The History of the United States Capitol* (19), and W. B. Bryan, *History of the National Capitol* (20) are fundamental. J. Q. Howard, *The Architects of the American Capitol* (21), J. H. B. Latrobe, *The Capitol and Washington at the beginning of the present century*, the addresses of P. B. Wight (23) and Adolph Cluss (24) at the 1875 and 1876 Conventions of the A. I. A., the latter annotated by J. H. B. Latrobe before its presentation, and G. A. Town-

send, *Washington Outside and Inside* (25), present the earlier accounts of the relation of Latrobe to the Capitol design. C. E. Fairman, *Art and Artists of the U. S. Capitol* (26) contains much Latrobe material of the same nature. Many papers read at the meetings of the Columbia Historical Society are of value (27), and in a recent volume of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (28), J. H. B. Latrobe's remarks when the competitive drawings for the Capitol design were presented in 1865 are given. For Latrobe's work in the completion of the State Capitol at Richmond, we have Kimball's account (29); for his Bank of Pennsylvania and Bank of the United States in Philadelphia, we have Kimball's accounts (30, 31); for his Centre Square Water Works, Philadelphia, Fitz-Gibbons' account and J. H. B. Latrobe's reminiscences of 1876 (32a). For the cathedral in Baltimore, there is Kimball's survey (33), and the Latrobe letters to Bishop Carroll on the subject in *Cathedral Records* (34). Riggins Buckler published with measured drawings the Harper Springhouse, now at the Baltimore Museum of Art (35); E. Ashton has reported on the cornstalk columns in the Capitol (36), and F. Kimball has commented on Latrobe's Dry-dock at Washington in *The Michigan Technic* (37). Latrobe's work at the Washington Navy Yard is described in Captain H. B. Hibben's report (37a).

We turn now to manuscripts. For an exhaustive bibliography of Latrobe and the Capitol, Glenn Brown (19) is authoritative to the date of its publication. Fiske Kimball in his D. A. B. article speaks of material still inaccessible, in the possession of F. C. Latrobe (7), including nineteen volumes of polygraphic recordings, twelve pocket diaries and note-books, fifteen sketch books and many drawings. In the Library of Congress are two volumes of letters relating to the Capitol, and Gamble Latrobe, Wilmington, Delaware, owns some letters. The papers which John E. Semmes used are now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. The J. Henley Smith (Thorn-ton) papers, spoken of by Brown, are now in the Library of Congress. The Department of State, D. C. papers; the Navy Department, Office of Public Buildings and Grounds; the Office

of the Architect of the Capitol; and the Fine Arts Division of the Library of Congress are all repositories of letters or drawings.

Scrap-books, composed of news clippings, at the Washingtonian division of the District Library, Washington, entitled "Historic Houses," contain much of at least secondary value. *Kalorama* was illustrated in the New York Evening Post, December 5, 1888, The Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1908 and January 18, 1929; *Bellevue* (Dumbarton House) in the Star, May 25, 1912, and with the old portico replaced by the current one in a Star clipping. The Navy Yard was described in the Star, November 27, 1906, and *Duddington in the National Capitol* (1885). For the Van Ness House, there were items in the Washington Post, September 16, 1883, and in Scribner's Magazine, March, 1874, and October, 1883. The old Calvert Mansion at Bladensburg is illustrated in an item from an unknown source, and is commented on in the Royal Blue, the Times, May 10, 1896, the Star, October 17, 1909 and June 10, 1911, the Post, August 14, 1892, and The House Beautiful, April, 1903, usually with illustrations. *Brentwood* was illustrated in the Herald, July 25, 1911, with comment; the doorways at the Decatur and Van Ness houses in the Star, October 6, 1907; *Brentwood* again in the Star, December 12, 1915, and September 22, 1918, and the Van Ness mansion in unnamed clippings June 28, 1903, and March, 1899. Then there are the various articles by F. C. Latrobe in the Baltimore Sun of recent date (38, 38a, 38b). Finally there are the miscellaneous items: J. H. B. Latrobe's recollections of steamboat origins (40, 41); Rembrandt Peale's Reminiscences (44), and B. Fernow, Washington's Military Family, illustrated by a portrait of General Washington attributed to Latrobe (45).

Our sketch of Latrobe's career will start with the Ackermann article, said by the editor to have been based on a letter recently received from the subject. The obituary notice in the New Orleans papers, September 4, 1820, is quoted: ". . . distinguished artist, who is well known from his works by nearly all

the Atlantic states; he died on the 3rd of September 1820." His American career is sketched as starting with his intention in 1795 to visit his maternal uncle, Colonel Antes, on the Susquehanna, the winds causing his ship to dock at Norfolk rather than Philadelphia. Meeting Colonel Bushrod Washington, and later General Washington, whom he visited at Mount Vernon, he stayed for a time in Virginia. After consultation concerning the navigation of the James River, he became the engineer of the state. Reaching Philadelphia in due time, he built a bank there, supplied the city with water, constructed works of defense and light-houses on the coast, and became the city engineer. He married the daughter of Isaac Hazelhurst. Moving to Washington as Surveyor of Public Works, he built the House of Representatives. But a month before his death, he had sent the editor a list of his works with a view to the publication of his designs. They included the Cathedral, Baltimore, the Exchange, Baltimore, the Bank of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, the Engine House (Water Works), Philadelphia, the Capitol, Washington, and the Bank of the United States, Philadelphia, said to have been built by a pupil from Latrobe's designs, with alterations to the principal room. The letter also told of how in 1811 his eldest son had gone to New Orleans at seventeen to take charge of the installation of the new water system, had died, leaving the monopoly in a precarious state, and how Latrobe had moved there with his family. The article concludes with a summary of Latrobe's early career in England. He was the son of Rev. Benjamin LaTrobe, of noble Protestant lineage of Languedoc, the superintendent of the United Brethren in England. He was born in 1762, educated at Fulneck, near Leeds, and had entered college at sixteen at Nisky, in Saxony, where he showed an early interest in drawing and architecture. In 1785 he was appointed to a clerkship in the Stamp Office, London, but shortly entered the office of an eminent London architect, followed by a brief period in another professional office. A mansion near Grimstead (*Hammerwood Lodge*), Sussex, for Mr. Sperling, now owned by Mr. Dorrien

Magens, was his first important commission, followed by a house for Mr. Trayton Fuller, at Ashdown Park. He married the daughter of Rev. Mr. Sellon, rector of St. James', Clerkenwell, who bore him a son and daughter, and died during her third confinement.

For supplementary facts, we will turn to his son's biography in the *Journal*. He was the youngest son of Rev. Benjamin Latrobe and Ann Margaret Nutis, the former an English clergyman of the Moravian faith, the latter the daughter of a resident of Pennsylvania. The family name was Boneval, the Latrobes belonging to a younger branch who had emigrated from France to England during the Huguenot persecution. Latrobe's mother, also of Moravian stock, was sent to a United Brethren school in Germany, met her future husband there, and married him in 1755. They had three sons. After schooling in Yorkshire and Saxony, Latrobe spent nearly three years at the University of Leipzig. In 1785 he spent some months in European travel. Meeting some university friends, Prussian and English, he decided to join them in a campaign, as subaltern in a company of Hussars. Two hard-fought skirmishes and a severe wound cooled his ardor, and he resigned to continue his travels, studying architecture, we are told, as he went. He returned to England in the latter part of 1786 during his father's last illness. For the next several years he stayed in London with his elder brother, studying everything that came his way, and mingling in distinguished society. Deciding on engineering and architecture for his profession, he had John Smeaton as his adviser and close friend. In 1787 or 1788 he entered the office of Mr. Cockerell, considered one of the best architects in London, and could soon draw with facility and prepare estimates. The Surveyorship of the Public Offices, London, followed. He married Lydia Sellon in 1790. When his wife died in 1793, her loss, as well as his liberal political ideas and his unseen relatives in Pennsylvania, led him to migrate to America. Declining the Surveyorship of the Crown, with its £1000 salary, he left, November 25, 1795, for the new world. He reached Norfolk

March 20, 1796. After several months here, he moved to Richmond, where he stayed until November, 1798, when he moved to Philadelphia. In the preceding March he had visited Philadelphia, had met the President of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and quite informally had sketched his ideas for the proposed bank structure, only to receive the commission in due course. This success is considered the more noteworthy as his library had been seized at sea by a French privateer, and he was without a work of reference for several years. His reputation established, he engaged in numerous engineering projects, including the Philadelphia Water Works and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. In 1803 he became Surveyor of Public Buildings of the United States, eventually moving to Washington (1807), after the C. and D. Canal had been temporarily abandoned. His work at the Navy Yard is referred to, his designing of the "American Order" in the Capitol, his work on the Washington City Canal, and the New Orleans Water Works. Steamboat ventures in Pittsburgh took him there for a time, after his resignation at Washington, but failing financially, he returned to Washington in 1815, to rebuild the Capitol burned by the British. Henry S. Latrobe's death followed in 1817. Early in 1818 he removed to Baltimore, where the Cathedral and Exchange were in progress. Visiting New Orleans in 1819-20, he returned to Baltimore for his family and after successfully withstanding the fever for a season and thinking himself immune, he succumbed in the fall of 1820.

The text of the *Journal* need not detain us here. The discussion of a cultured gentleman's adventures in a world where culture was just finding itself, illustrated by a clever pen and ready wit, is highly entertaining. The visit to Mount Vernon is a high spot; the outline of an educational program for a republic, an inevitable accompaniment.

The data Kimball has gathered for his D. A. B. sketch contains little additional in the way of biographical detail. The date of birth is given as May 1, 1764. Latrobe studied architecture under Samuel Pepys Cockerell, the pioneer of the Greek revival in England; engineering under John Smeaton, the

builder of the Eddystone lighthouse—thus the delicate reticence of Ackermann is rent asunder. Additional activities in England mentioned are the investigation of the scouring works in Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire for Smeaton, buildings at Frimley, Surrey, and the superintendence of a canal in Surrey. Arrived in America, not without fortune, we are told, he busies himself for a time with informal designs for friends, is consulted on navigation improvements of the Appomattox and James Rivers, and the treatment of the Dismal Swamp. Obtaining the commission for the Richmond Penitentiary, he moves there in 1797, where he completes the State Capitol, and supplies the design for the rebuilding of *Greenspring*, near Williamsburg, with an arcade and portico. In Philadelphia he is consulted on the navigation of the Susquehanna, builds *Sedgley*, strangely enough in a diluted Gothic, designs an unbuilt house for Robert Liston, the Burd House at Chestnut and Ninth Streets, a Military Academy at the request of the Secretary of War, and makes drawings for a dry-dock at Washington for President Jefferson. In 1803 he receives, as seen above, the surveyorship in Washington, starting at once with the completion of the House wing of the Capitol. In 1807 he is helping to complete and landscape the White House, and is being consulted about the Washington City Canal. Designs for navy yards at New York and at Washington, for the Navy Department, date from 1804, and by 1810 he is remodeling the Patent Office. In 1812 come plans for the Marine Hospital, Washington. Between 1804 and 1818 he is a consultant in regard to the Cathedral at Baltimore. In 1804 he builds West College, Dickinson College; in 1805, he designs the first building of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; in 1806, he adapts the President's House in Philadelphia to the uses of the University of Pennsylvania, and prepares plans for his own Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. In 1807 he designs in the Gothic style the Bank of Philadelphia (built by Mills), and the Waln House, Philadelphia; in 1809, the Markoe House, Philadelphia, and the portico for *Bellevue*, Georgetown, and, at uncertain dates, work at Brentwood, Vir-



ginia, and Riverdale, Virginia. (It is believed these last two items are in error.) From 1799 on, he is active, as seen above, with the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. He is consulted by Aaron Burr and others on various canal projects. He joins Robert Fulton, his son-in-law, Nicholas Roosevelt, and Robert Livingston in an unfortunate venture to operate steamboats on the Mississippi, building the *Buffalo*, and moving to Pittsburgh in 1813 for that purpose. He designs *Belvedere* for J. B. Church in the Upper Genesee Valley, and *Ashland* for Henry Clay at Lexington, Kentucky, while plans are also extant for the Robertson House, Pittsburgh, Governor Taylor's house, Newport, Kentucky, Governor Cass's house in Michigan, and the Baum house, Cincinnati. In 1815 he is back in Washington rebuilding the Capitol, resigning again in 1817. Washington works include (Kimball places them all in this second period): St. John's Church, the Van Ness House, and the Decatur House; also the Tower of Christ Church, Alexandria (questioned by F. C. Latrobe), and the Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland. He advises Jefferson in regard to the University of Virginia. He moves to Baltimore, declaring bankruptcy, in 1818. He, in association with Maximillian Godefroy, builds the Exchange, Baltimore, and he designs the second Bank of the United States (built by Strickland) in Philadelphia. From 1809 he had been made consultant in regard to a new water supply system for New Orleans, leading to his removal there and death of yellow fever on September 3, 1820. The tower of the cathedral at New Orleans is said to be his, and in the Cabildo a painting of his water works is preserved.

Our next section will list his works as far as identified, with comment only when not already mentioned:

*England:*

Hammerwood Lodge, East Grimstead, Sussex.

Fuller House, Ashdown Park.

Basington Canal, Surrey.

Engineering projects at Maldon and Rye (mentioned in his

*Opinion* concerning the navigation of the Potomac).

*Philadelphia:*

Bank of Pennsylvania.

Water Works.

Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

President's House (alterations).

P. E. Church.

Chestnut Street Theatre.

Waln House.

Markoe House.

*Sedgley.*

Burd House.

Liston House (design).

Sansom Row.

Bank of Philadelphia (built by Mills).

Bank of United States (built by Strickland).

Schuylkill Bridge (the somewhat dubious authority for this work is the oblique reference in Latrobe, *Anniversary Oration*).

*Pittsburgh:*

Steamship *Buffalo*.

Robertson House (plans).

Arsenal.

Private houses (referred to in the Journal).

*Pennsylvania:*

Delaware and Schuylkill Canal.

Susquehanna (navigation).

Delaware and Chesapeake Canal.

West College, Dickinson College, Carlisle.

*Washington:*

Decatur House.

Van Ness House.

St. John's Church.

*Duddington.*

Patent Office (alterations).

Marine Hospital.

Dry-dock (design).

Capitol.

White House (porticos).

*Bellevue* (Dumbarton House).

*Brentwood.*

*Kalorama* (lodges).

Navy Yard.

Washington City Canal.

*Virginia:*

- Christ Church, Alexandria (tower).
- Private houses in Richmond, Norfolk, Petersburg (referred to in the *Journal*).
- Fortifications, Norfolk.
- University of Virginia (consultant).
- Capitol, Richmond (completed).
- Greenspring* (portico and arcade).
- Dismal Swamp Canal (referred to in J. H. B. Latrobe's letter in the *American Architect*, Vol. I, 1876).
- The James-Appomattox Canal.
- Penitentiary, Richmond (Christian, (55), gives a distant view of the building with buttresses and a cupola. Said to have marked an advance in penology through the use of individual cells).

*Maryland:*

- Exchange, Baltimore (with Maximillian Godefroy).
- Cathedral, Baltimore.
- Harper House, Baltimore (authenticated by F. C. Latrobe).
- Swann House (mentioned as traditionally given to Latrobe in Stockett, *Baltimore*, Baltimore, 1928, but questioned by F. C. Latrobe).
- Calvert Mansion, Riverdale, portico (the columns were cut for the U. S. Capitol, but when found too short, were purchased for the present use, *Washington Times*, May 10, 1896).
- Court-House, Hagerstown.

*New York:*

- Erie Canal (referred to by Kimball in his *Michigan Technic* article).
- Belvedere*, Upper Genesee Valley.

*Kentucky:*

- Governor Taylor's House, Newport, Kentucky (plans).
- Ashland*, Lexington, Kentucky.

*Michigan:*

- Governor Cass's house (plans).

*Ohio:*

- Baum House, Cincinnati (referred to by Glenn Brown, but questioned by Kimball).

*Connecticut:*

Burr House, Fairfield (referred to by Major, *The Greek Revival*).

*New Jersey:*

Nassau Hall, Princeton (the cupola is credited to Latrobe.  
Cf. *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, December 1, 1934).

*Louisiana:*

Water Works, New Orleans.

Cathedral, New Orleans (tower).

Private houses, grills, (attributed by Tallmadge on the basis of style).

The Tripoli Monument was erected by Latrobe in the Navy Yard, Washington, and was later moved to the plaza before the Capitol, and then to the Naval Academy Grounds, Annapolis. The "American Order" capitals in the Capitol were designed by Latrobe, and also the figure of *History in the Car of Time*, over the entrance of the old House, now Statuary Hall (19). Poems by Latrobe are spoken of as having been written in his son's Commonplace Book. He also composed an epilogue for a presentation of Hannah More's play, *Joseph and His Brethren*. In Semmes' biography there is a sketch of Thomas Jefferson by Latrobe. Equally miscellaneous are the designs for a set of circus buildings at Pittsburgh mentioned by Semmes, the platform for the inauguration of President Monroe, the coach used when the family drove from Washington to Pittsburgh in 1813, the funeral monuments for the wives of W. C. Claiborne, and the over-elaborate (as events proved) shipyards at Pittsburgh. The portrait of Washington has already been mentioned. Numerous portraits, water-colors, sketches, and scientific drawings are given in the *Journal*. Scharf and Westcott, in their *History of Philadelphia* (52), speak of landscape drawings by Latrobe exhibited in 1812, including *View of the River Schuylkill*, and *View of the Seat of Miers Fisher*.

A portrait of Latrobe is referred to as having been painted by his son, John H. B. Latrobe; another from an unstated source is given by Glenn Brown, and an oil by C. W. Peale, owned by F. C. Latrobe, is reproduced by Fairman.

Letters by Latrobe are numerous. Those to Jefferson concern the Capitol, the White House, the University of Virginia, and the architect's presentation of the model of his maize capitol; those to Bishop Carroll concern the Baltimore cathedral; one to William Jones, the Secretary of the Navy, retails the difficulties of an artist in government employ (given in the appendix of Dunlap); one to Signor Mazzei regards Franzoni and Andrei as sculptors for the Capitol; one to Thomas More, Maryland, concerns the current prejudice against European engineers; one to his wife concerns the competition for the Bank of the United States; and one to David Este, Cincinnati, regards his bankruptcy. Epistolary references in support of attributions of individual houses are gathered by Kimball in the appendix to *Domestic Architecture*, often from unpublished letters, owned by F. C. Latrobe. Latrobe's letters to his superintendent in Washington, John Lenthall, are in the Library of Congress; Semmes gives letters by Latrobe to his wife as she visits in Philadelphia, to Fulton and Roosevelt regarding the steamboat venture, and to his children from New Orleans; Fairman records letters to Franzoni and to Andrei, C. W. Peale, and Trumbull regarding the decoration of the Capitol. In course of time, Madison replaces Jefferson as the President addressed, and Thomas Monroe becomes Superintendent of Buildings. Latrobe's final letter of resignation, November 20, 1817, is given in the *Journal*. Occasional letters, to Randolph in the Booklovers' Magazine article, to the masons and bricklayers of the Capitol, given in Fairman, to President Washington after his Mount Vernon visit, given in Dunlap, to his brother after the fire at Havre de Grace, given in Swepson Earle (47), and to General Harper regarding his buildings at Baltimore are also of interest. In the New York Public Library are various letters by Latrobe, mostly to Mrs. Madison, and also the dedicatory hymn for St. John's Church, Washington, December 27, 1816.

Latrobe drawings in public hands are widely distributed. The plans of the White House are at Harvard University and the Library of Congress; the arcade and portico for *Greenspring*

is in the Virginia Historical Society; the map of the Susquehanna is in the Maryland Historical Society, as also the Baltimore Exchange and section drawings for the Orders of the House; the East Front of the Capitol as projected was published by Ackermann, London; Centre House, Philadelphia, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Dry-dock, Washington, in the Library of Congress; the Bank of the United States, Philadelphia, in the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, Washington, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; The Book of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in the Maryland Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library of Congress, and the possession of F. C. Latrobe; the Cathedral, Baltimore, in the possession of F. C. Latrobe, as also the Markoe House, the Liston House, cornice details, and a sketch of the Robert Morris House, Philadelphia; the Commandant's Quarters, Pittsburgh Arsenal, in the Library of Congress; a Survey Plot, C. and D. Canal, in the Office of Walter Hall, President, Salem, New Jersey; a note-book for the year 1799 (duplicate drawings compiled for Latrobe's brother) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as also a scheme for the navigation of the Delaware. Drawings for a military academy and the Capitol are in the Library of Congress, and a water-color of St. John's Church is owned by Mr. Loring, Washington.

For Latrobe's personality, that of the cultivated man of affairs, of charm, of self-assurance, we find place for quotations from only two autobiographical sources: his oration to the Society of Artists, and his comments on his taste in architecture. (He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, of the Academy of Arts, and a vice-president of the Society of Artists of the United States.) In eloquent language, with balanced periods, the anniversary orator says that in America it is still necessary to point out that art aids *morals* and *liberty*. Many still think art unrepblican. But Greece, early Rome, and Florence show the contrary. Philadelphia may become the Athens of the West. Outgrowing the current fashion to imitate the Diocletian or Louis XIV style in architecture, a beginning

has been made. The Bank of the United States (first) had a marble front, although copying an "indifferent" European model, but one year later came the Bank of Pennsylvania, an effort to "produce a pure specimen of Grecian simplicity in design, and Grecian permanence in execution." As in the days when independence was achieved, let the motto be, "united we stand, divided we fall." In his letter to President Jefferson, Philadelphia, May 21, 1807, he reveals his taste in architecture. "My *principles* of good taste are rigid in Grecian architecture. I am a bigoted Greek in the condemnation of the Roman architecture of Baalbeck, Palmyra, Spaletro, and of all the buildings erected subsequent to Hadrian's reign. The immense size, the bold plan and arrangement of the buildings of the Romans down almost to Constantine's arch, plundered from the triumphal arches of former emperors, I admire, however with enthusiasm, but think their decorations absurd beyond tolerance from the reign of Severus downward. Whenever, therefore, the Grecian style can be copied without impropriety, I love to be a mere, I would say a *slavish*, copyist, but the forms and the distribution of the Greek and Roman buildings which remain are in general inapplicable to the objects and uses of our public buildings."

Documents regarding Latrobe's engineering projects are abundant. We may mention the letter by Latrobe to John Miller, December 29, 1798, regarding the installation of a new water system in Philadelphia (42); An Answer to the Joint Committee of the Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia, March 2, 1799, also regarding the water supply for Philadelphia; A Report of the Committee Appointed by the Common Council to Inquire into the State of the Water Works, Philadelphia, 1802; Report of the Watering Committee, November 12, 1818; and Notes upon the Water Works of Philadelphia, 1801 to 1815, Samuel Graff, Jr., (n. d.). There are also the anonymous *Remarks*, bound with the Address of the Committee of the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Company to the Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives on a memorial of the said Company, Philadelphia, 1799, and a collection of pamphlets relative to the C. and D. Canal in the possession of the



Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Private Letter by Latrobe of 1806 (43), in the midst of the Capitol controversy, and data in the *Journal* and in the J. H. B. Latrobe items tell the story from Latrobe's point of view, as also the Report of 1804 by Latrobe to the President. The *American Coper Mines*, by Latrobe, 1800 (39), regards the incorporation of a mine and metal company sought by Nicholas I. Roosevelt. An *Opinion* by Latrobe on the removal of obstructions in the Potomac to Georgetown, 1812, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

More personal letters available are as follows: In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is one to Governor Wood of Virginia, Richmond, March 3, 1798, accepting the direction of the construction of the Penitentiary, and requesting leave to visit in Philadelphia; the printed notice of his bankruptcy, dated December 19, 1817, with a note appended by Latrobe giving William Whann of the Bank of Columbia assurance of the re-payment of the amount due, and the letter to Mr. James Eakin, Washington, his cousin, dated Philadelphia, April 13, 1801,

“ My dear Cousin

Abbot at the outset is ominous. But this is my last sheet of letter paper, and I had saved it on purpose to show you my respect, and to offer you my thanks for the very obliging manner in which you have undertaken my little application. Mr. Newman, who will deliver you this, has laid me under great obligations by his very polite advice and exertion on the subject of my claim. I have given him a letter to Colonel McHenry, and I hope you will meet with no difficulties—All I could do in return was to show him my works, and I dare to say that my vanity was on that occasion as much liable to be expected, as my civility might be admired; and perhaps I am, when making my exhibition, often compared to those indiscreet mothers, who, in order to be very civil, cram their slobbering brats down your throats. But indeed I am highly obliged to Mr. Newman, and hope he will remember that my door and my hand are always open to receive him.

“ As to marriages, deaths, bankruptcies, I can say but little in the way of news. Mr. Cooper's affair with Miss Abby Willing is off. Mrs. Bingham, as the last resource of life, goes

this day on board a Vessel intended to carry her to Lisbon. Her husband and daughter, and Abby Willing accompany her and she is scarcely expected to live a week her leaden coffin is part of the cargo. What a melancholy set!

"God bless you. I have only time to assure you of mine and Mrs. Latrobe's undiminished affection.

"Believe me very truly,

Yrs.

B. Henry Latrobe."

In the same repository is a letter to John A. McAllester from John H. B. Latrobe, June 22, 1867, regarding the Bank of the United States, a letter by Latrobe to Robert Gilmour, Governor of the Susquehanna Company, Philadelphia, January 19, 1802, with a copy of a letter estimating expenses of completing the work above the Maryland line, and one to Commodore David Porter, U. S. A., Washington, July 31, 1815, as follows:

"Dear Sir

A few days ago, I left with the Secretary of the Commissioner's of the Navy at your office a letter to you, stating that if you wished the names of the Officers and the other inscriptions engraved on the Tripolitan Monument, it might now be done by skillful hands, and very conveniently, because our supply of stone not being arrived, I can spare the stone cutter whom I should employ,—and whom I might, towards winter, want for the Capitol.—I presume the letter did not reach you, and therefore beg leave to repeat its object, as I shall on wednesday leave the city for 6 or 7 days, and the Man is anxious to go to work while the days are long and the weather warm.

"The last time I had the pleasure to see you, and offered my further services in completing the Monument, I understood you to say that this was the only part of the work in which they could be useful.—Otherwise, I should believe that you had considered my offer as officious,—even after the trouble and vexation which I most cheerfully suffered in order to get the work as far advanced as it now appears, and from which I claim no merit whatever, but that of having felt for the brave men to whom it is dedicated, and for zeal for your fame, the interest of a good citizen.

"Respectfully yrs.

B. H. Latrobe."

Architectural authorities are often mentioned by Latrobe. Most frequently come Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, Sir William Chambers, and Desgodetz. Chambers' book is presumably the *Treatise on the Decorative Art of Civil Architecture*, and the Desgodetz is undoubtedly, *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome*. Chambers is spoken of in a letter to Lenthall, August 12, 1805, as an obvious reference for details, and Desgodetz is referred to in the letter to Jefferson quoted above.

We now comment on the works of Latrobe with especial reference to their classical features. The first will be the Center Square Water Works in Philadelphia (32). The base is composed of a rectangular mass, broken in the center by two Doric columns between antae; the rear wall has semi-circular headed doors with rectangular panels above, and the walls to either side of the vestibule are marked by semi-circular windows and embracing arches, similar fenestration being continued down the sides. Mouldings and a balustrade finish this story. From the center rises rather clumsily a cylindrical mass with rectangular windows, a panelled attic, and a stepped dome, culminating in an opening for the outlet of smoke. The design seems to show a rather awkward functionalism based on classical form. Comparisons should be made with Palladio's *Villa Rotonda* at Vicenza (48), and the Tower of the Winds, Athens (Stuart and Revett, Plate 9).

The Bank of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (30) had a hexastyle Ionic colonnade extended across the front and back, reached by a flight of steps. A single door broke the walls with a longitudinal panel recessed above. A square mass backed the pediment. Above two steps which disguised the shallow dome came the cupola. The flanks were marked by slightly projecting centers, the base of the dome and the cupola. It and the side bays were marked by semi-circular window schemes for the principal floor, and by rectangular openings above and below. Antae at the corners and panels and balustrade terminals added refinement. Prototypes would be the temple on the Ilissos, Athens (49, plate 5), or the east porch of the Erechtheum, simplified—the columns here are unfluted, there are no anthemion bands below the volutes, etc. (49, plate 33).

The Bank of the United States, Philadelphia (31), now the Custom House, is the second structure of that institution and is reminiscent of the Parthenon. It is amphiprostyle, Doric, and raised on a flight of steps. There is but a single colonnade at the ends. We recall that Strickland built the structure, modifying the central room as conceived by Latrobe. A central dome on pendentives was replaced by a barrel vault. In both designs barrel vaults were used to flank the central feature and a saucer dome was placed over the Stockholders' Room. These superficial features are hidden by the gable roof. An early account (1819) quoted by Kimball calls the building Doric, "hypaethral," octastyle, and prostyle, reminiscent of the Parthenon, though lacking the flank columns, the pronaos, and the sculpture. The twelve Ionic columns of the central room were proportioned on those of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene.

Private houses in Philadelphia may start with the *Sedgley* design, Gothic by way of exception (17d). Square towers mark the corners with pointed openings, and colonnades run between, surmounted by a rectangular second story. A semi-circular bay with a projected portico features the front. The second story has flat, triple windows; dormers open from a steep roof, and a corbelled moulding hangs from the eaves. A classicist is trying hard to be English and Gothic.\* The Markoe House is known by the plan and elevation sketched by Latrobe (8), showing a severe simplicity. The front is broken only by a polygonal projection. On the first story triple windows reach to the floor. Balanced rooms with curved elements and an oval stair-well feature the plan. The Burd House (8) is more alluring. Of brick, it well adapts the classic style to city architecture. The first two stories and the center of the third have semi-circular headed openings, the relieving arches of the first and second floors being filled now with a Palladian window, or a gracious fan-lit door, and now with rectangular windows. A splay of steps extends welcome. The extensions to either side of the first story are practical and well-articulated. The Chestnut Street Theatre (14) may be noticed in passing. Whether Latrobe designed the early nineteenth century structure or

merely the wings is uncertain. In any case, a pediment rose above an upper story dominated by a Palladian window, and a first floor was protected by a shed roof. Westcott (53) speaks of the semi-circular sculptured panels from the Robert Morris House which were used to decorate the wings of the lower story over the window heads. The President's House which Latrobe adapted to the purposes of the University of Pennsylvania is given in Kimball (8). It is distinctly late colonial in its pilastered front, with Adam adornment, and need not detain us. And also of only casual interest is the row of houses Latrobe designed in Philadelphia for William Sansom, known from a drawing in the Ridgeway Library, Philadelphia (8). Regimentation is here carried rather far. Three stories, a basement, and an attic with dormers, are given to each house. A rectangular door with a flight of steps below and a fan above, string-courses, and a moulding of dentils at the roof line, are all that are needed or given.

In Baltimore the chief work is the Cathedral (33, 34). The Ionic portico, added in the seventies, presumably from Latrobe's design, is reminiscent of the East Portico of the Erechtheum. The building has a cruciform plan with an eastern apse and rises on an octagonal drum at the crossing to a Roman dome. Towers ending in cupolas flank the front portico, while the transepts end in a rectangular mass opened only by semi-circular headed elements, continued in the windows down the sides. Above the windows plain longitudinal panels admirably relate spaces. The Exchange in Baltimore, long the Post Office, by Latrobe and Godefroy, is illustrated in Jackson (17d) from the drawing in the Maryland Historical Society. The building was H-shaped, and the cross-bar was dominated by a polygonal drum and dome. Strongly accented moulding, semi-circular headed doors and windows in the two central stories, double flights of steps to the entrances and sloping roofs are characteristics of a not-inspired design. Of the private houses in Baltimore attributed to Latrobe, the Swann House on Franklin Street with its tetrastyle portico, demolished to make way for the new Pratt Library, is said by F. C. Latrobe

not to be certainly attributed. A photograph of it is preserved at the Municipal Museum. The Harper House on Cathedral Street, which met the same fate, *is* authenticated. A rusticated stone base had two rectangular windows and a severe Doric portico of two columns reached by two steps. An architrave and cornice formed the entablature. The three windows of the second story were tall rectangles, with projecting cornices on corbels and iron grills. The three windows of the third story were severely plain, except for a narrow moulding. The top of the house was paneled just below the slightly projecting cornice, itself of refined profile. A photograph in the possession of Mr. L. H. Fowler, Baltimore, was used by the present investigator. The master designer was clearly at work here. The dairy for the Harper country house at (present) Roland Park (35) is established as Latrobe's by letters owned by Mr. F. C. Latrobe. For example, Latrobe wrote from Washington to General Harper at Baltimore, May 1, 1812:

"I send you a sketch of your barn, and your houses will follow. You will observe that so far from making alterations in the arrangement of the barn, which I am sure I couldn't improve, I propose it to be just what it is intended to be; making only the roof very much lower and the walls higher than usual. There is no doubt but that the low roof will shock your carpenters, but if you wish the thing to be anything but a Dutch barn, you must over-rule their prejudices, and if they consent to the thing, I will send you exact drawings of the framing."

On May 11, not having received General Harper's acknowledgment of the receipt of his sketches, Latrobe wrote that a mutual acquaintance had "promised to attend to them from Davis's Tavern" (Georgetown). Finally, on May 13, he writes, "Being at Davis's Tavern, today, I made inquiry for your roll of drawings and found it in the Bar where it had been left. I now have taken care that it shall certainly go on, and if you will send to Barney's and Gadsby's (Baltimore) you will find it in one or the other tavern." The building reconstructed at the Museum makes a charming tetrastyle Ionic Treasury. Only a single opening marks the front hall. A refined entablature,

the frieze with a curved profile, and a pediment surrounded with dentils complete the design. The building originally faced west, and the second story opened to the south; the first story was used as a spring house and the second, presumably, as an office. The second story was reached by a door in the center of the rear pediment, made possible by the rapid slope of the ground. The brick floor was several steps below the entrance level. The walls were of field stone, the corners and probably the window-frames of brick. The wood-work was of white pine, including the shingles. The original shingles were still in place when the structure was moved, but the original door was gone. Old, contemporary brick was used in the restoration, directed by Mr. L. H. Fowler.

In Washington the contribution of Latrobe to the White House consists of the north and south porticos (10, 37c). Jefferson devised the colonnades to the executive offices, and in collaboration with Latrobe, a rectangular portico on the north and a semi-circular one on the south, both colossal and Ionic, the former rising to a pediment, the latter to a cornice and balustrade, and resting on a basement arcade. For the Capitol (18, 19, 26), Latrobe's work is best seen in the old legislative chambers, now Statuary Hall and, until recently, the Supreme Court. For the House, before the 1814 fire, he devised a parallelogram with semi-circular ends. An interesting discussion arose between Jefferson and Latrobe, the latter urging the order of the Tower of the Winds, Athens (49, plate 9) or of the Theatre of Marcellus, Rome, the former that of the Lysicrates Monument, Athens. Again Latrobe wanted a lantern for central lighting, while Jefferson preferred diffused lighting by an arched ceiling with plate glass panels. The President cast the deciding vote. After the 1814 fire the House chamber was made semi-circular and raised to the second floor level. A Corinthian colonnade stretched behind the Speaker's chair. The ceiling was a section of a hemispherical dome, richly coffered. A semi-circular Corinthian colonnade surrounded the chamber with a gallery supported about two-thirds the way up. The Senate chamber was reached through a vestibule featured



by an Ionic colonnade and with a dome on pendentives above. The chamber was treated with pilasters around the semi-circle, with Ionic columns and piers on the straight side, back of the Vice-President's chair. Again a hemisphere cut short by a barrel vault domed the chamber. The center of the Capitol was built by Bullfinch, but the east front is essentially as designed by Latrobe, the flight of steps leading to a hypostyle vestibule and a rotunda, ribboned with pilasters. In the examples of the "American Order" devised by Latrobe, the maize column in the vestibule of what was the Law Library of the Supreme Court was marked by corn leaves at the bottom of the shaft, a fluted shaft, a twisted moulding, and an ovolo covered by ears of corn, with the ripened grain showing above. The tobacco capitals are on the peristylar columns of the small rotunda near the Supreme Court, with the flowers of the plant rising above the double range of leaves. (Later variations of the Corinthian order occur in Walter's work; for example the cotton-blossom capitals.)

The Decatur House, on Lafayette Square (51), now owned by Mr. Truxton Beale, is of brick, broken only by rectangular windows, with lintels and end blocks above, and narrow sills, also of stone, below. The second story windows extend to the floor and are guarded by delicate grills. The door and windows to either side of the ground floor have been given heavy "Victorian" brown-stone frames. A projecting flat roof with its shadow finishes the design. The entrance hall, is covered by segmental vaults, with a square bay and pendentives in the center, a short barrel vault in front and a great niche to the rear. The rooms are cubical.

The Van Ness House (27, v. 22; 8) was on the site of the present Pan-American Building. The plan shows a central hall leading to a salon, and balanced by stairs, and then by a den and a pantry. Back of the den was the library; back of the pantry, the dining-room—all rectangles. The front elevation showed a basement, main story, upper story, and a steep attic, divided by string-courses and terminated by tall chimneys. A Doric portico with pediment dominated. The front door had

side lights, but no fan. The garden front was more gracious. The windows beside the centre portico had an embracing arch and were triple, with pilasters between, and an architrave and cornice above. The portico was supported on a Doric colonnade leading to the basement. The lodge, the sole survivor, and now removed to the rear of the lot, had a great recessed, semi-circular headed entrance, while a pediment and dentils surrounding the eaves added classical touches. The Van Ness mausoleum, suggestive of the Temple at Tivoli, is sometimes given to Latrobe, but is more probably the work of Hatfield.

St. John's Church on Lafayette Square, before the present portico and tower were built, and extensions made, had a Greek cross plan with a shallow dome over the crossing (51). A square drum on the outside leads to a cupola. Each arm ends in a pedimented façade. The doors and windows are rectangular, the center in each façade emphasized with a semi-circular lunette.

*Dumbarton* in Georgetown, restored by Horace Peaslee, formerly called *Bellevue* (8) (8a), now the national headquarters of the Colonial Dames, has a portico re-built as far as possible in the style of Latrobe's. It is Doric, tetrastyle, with a horizontal architrave, cornice, and balustrade. The grills restored to the second story windows were suggested in part by those on the Decatur House.

*Brentwood*, formerly near Gallaudet College, in northeast Washington (27, vol. 2) is a typical Latrobe design. The first story has a central door and flanking windows, with a Doric tetrastyle portico and pediment. Two additional windows balance on either side. All openings are rectangular. The second story rises from the center with rectangular windows in front, lunette windows on the side. Again from the center rises a small, square drum, and a low polygonal cupola. A refined detail is a screen-like crest to either side of the entablature of the portico, its justification being that the proportions call for it. Steps lead to the portico. The central hall is circular and to further show the intellectualization of this formal space composition, there are square niches on the diagonal axes of the

rotunda. Measured drawings are given by Cunningham and Younger (54, plates 12 to 25).

*Kalorama* in northwest Washington had at least its lodge designed by Latrobe (27, vol. 13). A tetrastyle Doric temple with a single, unmoulded entrance to break the cella wall was his conception. The frieze is unbroken by triglyphs or metopes.

*Duddington* (25) on the site of the older House Office Building showed a greater spread than was usual with Latrobe. The center of the façade, however, had a tetrastyle portico and a salient bay ending in a pediment against a steep roof.

The design for the covered dry-dock at the Washington Navy Yard (37) provided a long range of semi-circular headed openings framed with rectangular pilasters and a simple entablature. The ends were projecting piers with recesses repeating the forms of the rest of the design. The center was a projected tetrastyle Doric portico, flanked by piers similar to those at the ends, with a horizontal entablature and a base for an equestrian group. To either end of the portico within the colonnade was a circular niche, and semi-circular niches were placed to either side of the entrance. The project called for a long, rectangular plan with the façade just described duplicated down the long sides. The ends were dominated in the one case by monumental piers supporting sculpture, in the other by an abstract temple design with a great semi-circular opening in the center and tall, semi-circular headed openings to either side, between piers. A pediment rose above, the inner piers terminating their forms against its base. Comparisons with the ship-yard at the Piræus, Athens, are obvious (56).

For the Capitol at Richmond (10, 11) Latrobe finished the building designed by Jefferson and Clérissseau, using ornament closer to the antique than the Louis XVI forms they had projected. The enframements of the doors and windows will illustrate the changes.

At the University of Virginia we know Jefferson consulted, and followed many of Latrobe's suggestions (10). Pavilions V and III are especially illustrative of Latrobe's influence (11). The former has an Ionic Hexastyle colonnade rising two stories

and terminated with a horizontal Ionic entablature. A gallery porch extends from the second story windows to the colonnade. The latter has the Corinthian order used similarly. Both orders are proportioned on Palladio.

Watermann and Barrows (12) give the drawing made by Latrobe for the rebuilding of *Greenspring*. The historic structure had two stories and an attic with two tiers of dormers. The remodeled design shows the old openings preserved on the main floor, rectangular openings above, and an arcade below. A porch runs the length of the building, with Tuscan supports and a pedimental center.

The first building of Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is shown in an early volume of the Portfolio (57), where the engraving by B. Tanner from a sketch by A. Breckenridge indicates a sober structure with the central bay projected, and marked by a triple door with fan, and a pediment. The windows of the first floor are set in semi-circular relieving arches. A cupola on a square base is back of the pediment. Three stories and a basement are provided. A. L. Kocher (58) gives a photograph of the main entrance showing the refined detail, the fluted pilasters and architrave and fan. The architraves of the windows on the first floor, with their plaster settings, also help to organize the aging stone and ivy. The pediment has an oriel in its center.

*Ashland* (14) is characterized by a projecting, three-sided pavilion reached by steps and marked by a semi-circular headed doorway with Doric columns engaged to either side and an entablature above. The windows of the other two sides of the pavilion reach to the floor. This central bay has a Palladian window on the second floor and a pediment above. An iron railing provides a second story porch. Paintings of this house by James Hamilton and by A. B. Durand are known.

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A LIST OF MARYLAND MILLS, TAVERNS, FORGES,  
AND FURNACES OF 1795.By J. LOUIS KUETHE.

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The mills, taverns, forges, and furnaces which appear on Dennis Griffith's Map of Maryland (1795) number together 292. Of this total there are 180 mills, 92 taverns, 11 forges, and 9 furnaces. Griffith on his map states that "The mills in the vicinity of Baltimore are too numerous for insertion." It is probable that many other mills, taverns, and possibly forges and furnaces were omitted because they were in or near the various towns shown on this map.

At the time Griffith's map was made the Conococheague Creek in Washington County seemed to be the "frontier." West of the Conococheague there were only three towns (Hancock, Old Town, and Cumberland), one forge, one furnace, 5 mills, and 13 taverns. Taking the entire state into consideration there were two mills to every tavern so the reversal of this ratio in Western Maryland, over two taverns to every mill, gives a fair index of the degree of settlement. West of Cumberland the only signs of habitation, other than the roads, are four taverns.

All of the taverns west of the Conococheague are on one road which approximately parallels the Potomac River to Cumberland and then runs due west into what is now West Virginia. The Fielding Lucas Map of 1819 shows a second road between Hancock and Cumberland noted as the "National Road" which takes a much more direct route between these towns. Lucas also shows the old Griffith road along the Potomac.

For obvious reasons the locations and distances given in describing Griffith's places are at best approximate. In giving reference points, names common to both Griffith's map and to modern maps are used as often as convenient. Since the year 1794, Howard County has split off from Anne Arundel County, Wicomico from Somerset and Worcester, Carroll from Freder-

ick and Baltimore, Garrett from Allegany; and Calvert County has been increased by a small strip from Anne Arundel. In locating a place on Griffith's Map the abbreviation of the name of the county in which it is situated is given. If its location is such that it falls in a section which constitutes part of a new county, both the old and the new are given.

Abbot's Mill (Tal.)—On Miles Creek, 8 miles south of Easton.

Abels Tavern (Al.)—About 6 miles east of Oldtown.

Alexanders Mill (Ce.)—On east side of Big Elk Creek, 7 miles north of Elkton.

Allens Mill (Balto.)—About  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles southwest of Reisters-town.

Amos's Mill (Harf.)—On Little Gunpowder, 6 miles south of Coopstown.

Andersons Tavern (Chas.)—About five miles west of Benedict.

Andrews Mill (Caroline)—On Fowling Creek.

Antietam Forge (Wash.)—On Antietam Creek, one mile from Potomac River.

Asquiths Mill (Balto.)—On Patapsco River, 6 miles above present Ellicott City.

Austins Mill (So.-Wi.)—About three miles south of Salisbury.

Baldwins Tavern (A. A.)—At or near present Millersville.

Baldwins Tavern (Pr. G.)—About 10 miles east of Bladensburg.

Balt<sup>e</sup>. Co. Furnace and/or Mill (Balto.)—On Gwynns Falls near mouth.

Bankers Mill (Fred.-Carroll)—On south side of Big Pipe Creek near present Bachman's Mills.

Barnes Mill (St. M.)—About one mile north of Leonardtown.

Barnes's Mill (Wash.)—On east side of Little Conococheague Creek about 4 miles from the Potomac River.

Barnets Tavern (Balto.)—About 7 miles northwest of Baltimore.

Barns Mill (Chas.)—On branch of Nanjemoy River about 3 miles above confluence.

Barren C. Mill (So.-Wi.)—On south side of Barren Creek,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Delaware line.

- Battle Swamp Tav. (Ce.)—At present Woodlawn.
- Beams Tavern (Balto.)—On Reisterstown Road, 7 miles from Baltimore.
- Beatys Tavern (Tal.)—About 9 miles north of Easton.
- Beetles Mill (Kent)—On present Sawmill Creek, 3 miles north of Massey.
- Bells Mill (Balto.)—On present North Branch of Patapsco River,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Reisterstown.
- Bembridges Mill (Fred.)—On west side of Catoctin Creek,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Middletown.
- Bigneys Tavern (Mont.)—About halfway between Little Monocacy and Little Seneca Creek, 4 miles from Potomac River.
- Billingsleys Tavern (Chas.)—Near Pr. G.—Chas. line on road to Upper Marlborough from Port Tobacco.
- Black Horse Tavern <sup>1</sup> (Balto.)—About 3 miles northwest of present Blackhorse (Harf.).
- Blacks Tavern (A. A.—How.)—About 5 miles northwest of present Ellicott City.
- Blue Ball Tavern (Balto.)—About 6 miles north of Reisters-town.
- Blue Ball Tavern (Ce.)—At present Blue Ball.
- Blue Ball Tavern (Harf.)—At Balto.—Harf. line west of Coops-town.
- Blue Rocks Tavern (Balto.)—About 7 miles northwest of Coopstown (Harf.).
- Bonds Mill (Harf.)—On Winters Run,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Belair.
- Books Tavern (Wash.)—At or near present Zittlestown.
- Booths Mill (Ce.)—On Little Elk Creek, just west of Elkton.
- Booths Mill (Wash.)—West side of Antietam Creek, 5 miles below Funkstown.
- Bowers Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On old Balto.—Fred. line, 8 miles north of Westminster.
- Broses Tavern (Wash.)—About 6 miles west of Hagerstown.

<sup>1</sup> J. Alexis Shriver on his map "Routes traveled by George Washington in Maryland" shows the Black Horse Tavern as being at present Blackhorse, Harford County.

- Browns Mill (Balto.-Carroll)—About 5 miles east of Westminster.
- Bruces Mill (Fred.-Carroll)—Present Bruceville.
- Brumers Mill (Chas.)—On south branch of Mattawoman Creek,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Potomac River.
- Buckeys Tavern (Fred.)—Present Buckeystown.
- Bucks Tavern (Balto.)—About 9 miles northeast of Baltimore.
- Burkets Mill (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek, one mile from Md.-Pa. line.
- Burnt House Tavern (Balto.)—On Reisterstown Road, 9 miles from Baltimore.
- Calverts Mill (Pr. G.)—About one mile southwest of Wood-yard.
- Carlile's Tavern (Wash.)—About one mile east of Licking Creek.
- Casners Tavern (Wash.)—About  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Hagerstown.
- Caves Mill (Harf.)—On Rock Run, 5 miles from Susquehanna River.
- Ceresvil Mill (Fred.)—Present Ceresville.
- Chicks Mill (Ce.)—On north side of Back Creek, 5 miles from mouth.
- Claggetts Mill (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek, one mile below Funkstown.
- Clifts Mill (So.)—About 7 miles east of Kingston.
- Colsons Mill (Ce.)—On a branch of Octoraro Creek, 10 miles northwest of Charleston.
- Comegys Mill (Kent)—On present Mill Creek, 3 miles southwest of Georgetown.
- Copper Mine (Fred.-Carroll)—On north side of Double Pipe Creek at its confluence with the Monocacy River.
- Cooksons Mill (Ce.)—On a branch of Octoraro Creek, 9 miles west of Blueball.
- Coopers Mill (Balto.)—On Gwynns Falls, 9 miles northwest of Baltimore.
- Cork Mill (Kent)—At present Sassafras (town).
- Cornthwaits Mill (A. A.-How.)—On Patapsco River, 2 miles below present Ellicott City. (At or near present Ilchester.)

- Crabs Mill (Fred.)—On west side of Toms Creek, 4 miles south of Emmitsburg.
- Craig's Mill (Al.)—On Town Creek near Potomac River.
- Crows Mill (A. A.—How.)—On Patuxent River, 5 miles above present Laurel (Pr. G.).
- Crows Mill (Mont.)—On branch of Great Seneca Creek, 6 miles west of Unity.
- Dallims Mill (Harf.)—On Winters Run, 2 miles southwest of Abingdon.
- Davis Mill (Fred.)—On branch of Monocacy River near confluence, one mile east of Buckeystown.
- Deans Tavern (Harf.)—About  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Coopstown.
- Derbin's Tavern (Al.)—About 8 miles southeast of Cumberland.
- Derns Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On south side of Pipe Creek, 2 miles west of Bruceville.
- Disneys Mill (A. A.)—On branch of Herring Bay,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles northwest of the bay.
- Dixon's Tavern (Q. A.)—About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Sudlersville.
- Dorman's Mill (Wo.)—One mile east of Pocomoke River on Corkers Creek.
- Dorseys Forge (Balto.)—At or near present Avalon.
- Dorseys Furnace (A. A.)—On present Furnace Creek, 4 miles from Patapsco River.
- Douglass's Mill (Caroline)—On Marshyhope Creek, 5 miles above Federalsburg.
- Drills Mill (Fred.)—On an east branch of Catoctin Creek, 3 miles from Potomac River.
- Duckers Mill (A. A.)—On headwater of South River, 8 miles west of Annapolis.
- Dun's Mill (Kent)—On Langford Bay, 6 miles southwest of Chestertown.
- Dysarts Tavern (Ce.)—About 6 miles north of Elkton.
- Ecchelbergs Tavern (Fred.—Carroll)—About 4 miles north of Taneytown.
- Eichers Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On north side of Big Pipe Creek, one mile below Silver Run.

- Ellicotts Mill (Balto.)—On Baltimore County side of Patapsco River at present Ellicott City (Howard County).
- Ellicotts Upper Mill (A. A.—How.)—On Patapsco River, 3 miles north of Ellicott City.
- Ellis's Tavern (Ce.)—About 6 miles north of Warwick.
- Emmits Mill (Fred.)—On east side of Toms Creek, 1 mile south of Emmitsburg.
- Erbs Tavern (Fred.—Carroll)—At or near present Union Mills.
- Erskins's Mill (Wo.)—At or near present Millville.
- Etna Glass Works (Fred.)—On south side of Tuscarora Creek, one mile west of road to Frederick.
- Ewings Mill (Ce.)—On east side of Conowingo Creek, 2 miles from Susquehanna River.
- Farquhers Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—At or near present Union Bridge.
- Faws Mill (Mont.)—On south side of Great Seneca Creek at Rockville—Frederick Road.
- Field's Mill (Ce.)—On Sassafra River opposite Sassafra (Town).
- Fitzhughs Mill (Cal.)—On Mill Creek, 2 miles from mouth.
- Floyds Tavern (St. M.)—At or near present Hollywood.
- Fobles Tavern (Balto.—Carroll)—On Reisterstown—Hanover road, 7 miles from Pa. line.
- Forge (Ce.)—On Big Elk Creek,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Elkton.
- Forge (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek, 3 miles above Hagerstown.
- Forkner's Mill (Caroline)—On present Faulkner Branch.
- Foxalls Mill (Fred.)—On west side Toms Creek, 2 miles south of Emmitsburg.
- Furnace (Balto.)—On north side of Bird River, 4 miles from mouth.
- Furnace (Wash.)—Near Potomac River, 9 miles west of Conococheague Creek.
- Furrys Mill (Wash.)—On an east branch of Antietam Creek, 6 miles east of Sharpsburg.
- Gaithers Mill (Mont.)—On west side of Patuxent River, 2 miles north of Unity.

- Gaithers Tavern (A. A.—How.)—About 7 miles southeast of Roxbury Mills.
- Gales Mill (So.—Wi.)—On south side of Quantico Creek, 5 miles from mouth.
- Gants Mill (A. A.—Cal.)—On branch of Lyons Creek,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Patuxent River.
- Gibbons's Mill (Harf.)—On Winters Run, 2 miles south of Belair.
- Gibsons Mill (Balto.)—On Little Falls of Gunpowder, west of Coopstown (Harf.).
- Gilling's Mill *sic* (Balto.)—At or near present Gittings.
- Gillings's Mill (Harf.)—On Little Falls of Gunpowder, 6 miles south of Coopstown.
- Gilpins Mill (Ce.)—About one mile northeast of present Bayview.
- Golding's Tavern (Wash.)—About 10 miles west of Hancock.
- Goldsborough's Mill (Caroline)—At or near present Goldsboro.
- Golts Tavern (Wo.)—About 12 miles northeast of Snow Hill.
- Great Mill (St. M.)—Present Great Mills.
- Griffiths Mill (Balto.—Carroll)—About 6 miles west of Owings Mills.
- Gross's Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On south side of Big Pipe Creek near present Union Mills.
- Groves Tavern (Fred.)—About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of Middletown.
- Gwins Mill (Balto.)—On Little Falls of Gunpowder, 2 miles above Joppa.
- Haines Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On north side of Little Pipe Creek, 5 miles above Sams Creek.
- Hair's Mill (Ce.)—About one mile north of Fredericktown.
- Halls Mill (Harf.)—On headwaters of Bush River, 5 miles northeast of Abingdon.
- Hammets Tavern (Fred.)—On east side of Monocacy River,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Frederick.
- Hammonds Mill (A. A.)—At mouth of a creek near the head of the Severn River on the north side.
- Hanaways Mill (Harf.)—On Winters Run, 4 miles west of Belair.

- Hannens Tavern (Balto.—Carroll)—About 6 miles southwest of Westminster.
- Hardeastles Mill (Tal.)—About  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles southwest of Hillsboro (Caroline).
- Hardigans Tavern (Balto.—Carroll)—About  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles southwest of Westminster.
- Harpers Mill (Do.)—On an east branch of Marshyhope Creek, 7 miles south of Federalsburg.
- Hemps Mill (Wash.)—On east side of Antietam Creek, 4 miles below Funkstown.
- Hess Mill (Wash.)—On an east branch of Antietam Creek, 6 miles east of Sharpsburg.
- Hickory Tavern (Harf.)—Present Hickory.
- Hills Mill (Q. A.)—On south side of Unicorn Branch,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Chester River.
- Hobbs Tavern (Fred.)—About 4 miles east of Newmarket.
- Hockley Forge (A. A.—How.)—On Patapsco River, one mile above Elkridge.
- Hoods Mill (A. A.—How.)—On Patapsco River, 4 miles below present Hoods Mills.
- Hoods Mill (Balto.—Carroll)—Present Hoods Mills.
- Howards Mill (Fred.)—On south side of Sams Creek,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of Libertytown.
- Howards Mill (Mont.)—On west side of Patuxent River, 2 miles northeast of Unity. At or near present Triadelphia.
- Hudsons Mill (Balto.—Carroll)—About 8 miles southeast of Westminster.
- Hughes's Furnace (Ce.)—Present Principio Furnace.
- Hughes's Mill (Wash.)—On east side of Antietam Creek, 3 miles above Hagerstown.
- Hutchings's Tavern (Q. A.)—On Kent Island,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Love Point.
- Hutchings's Tavern (Wo.)—About one mile north of St. Martins Church.
- Ireland Mill (Cal.)—On headwater of Halls Creek.
- Jacques's Forge (Wash.)—On Licking Creek near Potomac River.



- Johnsons Forge (Fred.)—On present Furnace Branch of the Monocacy River, near confluence.
- Johnsons Mill (Pr. G.)—On east side of Swanson Creek, 5 miles from mouth.
- Jones's Tavern (Q. A.)—About  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles southwest of Queens-town.
- Justices Mill (Kent)—On Chester River, 4 miles from Delaware line.
- Kennards Mill (Tal.)—At or near present Wye Mills.
- Kepharts Mill (Fred.-Carroll)—On south side of Big Pipe Creek, 4 miles below Silver Run.
- Ketmans Tavern (Balto.)—About  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Reisters-town.
- Kirkmans Mill (Balto.)—North of Baltimore,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Pa. line.
- Kings Mill (So.)—Just north of Kingston.
- Kings Tavern (Al.)—Just east of Fifteen Mile Creek.
- Kneas Tavern (Balto.-Carroll)—About 7 miles northeast of Westminster.
- Lances Mill (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek, 5 miles above Hagerstown.
- Landis Mill (Fred.-Carroll)—On east side of Sams Creek, 7 miles above Little Pipe Creek.
- Lanhams Tavern (Pr. G.)—About 3 miles northeast of Piscataway.
- Lawrencas Mill *sic* (A. A.-How.)—On Patapsco River, 7 miles east of Poplar Springs.
- Lees Mill (Harf.)—On Little Gunpowder Falls, 4 miles north of Joppa.
- Leigh Furnace (Fred.-Carroll)—On north side of Little Pipe Creek, 4 miles west of Westminster.
- Liters Tavern (Wash.)—At present Leitersburg.
- Lockermans Mill (Do.)—On Chicacomico River, 3 miles northwest of Vienna.
- Lowrys Tavern (Fred.)—About  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Creagers-town.
- Matthews Mill (Fred.)—On west side of Catoctin Creek, 3 miles from Potomac River.

- Mendenhalls Mill (Balto.)—About one mile below Ellicott City.
- Milligan Mill (Ce.)—About 4 miles northwest of Warwick.
- Mortons Tavern (Balto.—Carroll)—About 4 miles northeast of Westminster.
- Muds Tavern (Mont.)—About 3 miles from the Potomac River at the D. C. line.
- Newcomer Mill (Wash.)—On east side of Beaver Creek, 5 miles from Antietam Creek.
- Newcomers Mill (Wash.)—On a south branch of Beaver Creek, 2 miles above Antietam Creek.
- Nichols Mill (Do.)—On a branch of Marshyhope Creek,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of East New Market.
- Nicholss Mill (Balto.)—On Gunpowder Falls, one mile above Western Run.
- Norris Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On east side of Sams Creek,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles above Little Pipe Creek.
- Northampton Furnace (Balto.)—About 3 miles north of Towson.
- N. E. Forge (Ce.)—About one mile north of present Northeast.
- Oil Mill (Ce.)—On Conowingo Creek, one mile from mouth.
- Old Furnace (Balto.)—On Gunpowder Falls, one mile northeast of Perry Hall.
- Onions Mill (Harf.)—On Winters Run, 2 miles west of Belair.
- Onies's Mill (Harf.)—Just north of Joppa on Little Gunpowder Falls.
- Orendorfs Mill (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of Sharpsburg.
- Orrors Mill (Wash.)—On east side of Antietam Creek, 2 miles above Hagerstown.
- Orrs Tavern (Wash.)—At or near present Smoketown; about halfway between Hagerstown and Middletown (Fred.).
- Owings Mill (Balto.)—Present Owings Mills.
- Owings Mill (A. A.—How.)—On a branch of the Patuxent River,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Ellicott City.
- Owings Mill (A. A.—How.)—On a branch of the Patuxent River, 7 miles southwest of Ellicott City.

- Panes Mill (Do.)—On a branch of Marshyhope Creek, 3 miles southwest of Federalsburg (Caroline).
- Parkers Mill (Wo.-Wi.)—About 4 miles northeast of Salisbury.
- Perkins's Mill (Kent)—About  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles northeast of Chestertown.
- Pierces Mill (Balto.)—On Little Gunpowder Falls,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles above Joppa.
- Pierces Mill (Kent)—About 7 miles east of Chestertown.
- Pigmans Mill (Mont.)—On west side of Patuxent River,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles below Parrs Spring.
- Plummers Mill (A. A.)—On branch of Patapsco River,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles Southeast of Elkridge (How.).
- Porters Mill (Ce.)—At present Porter Bridge.
- Powder Mill (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek, 3 miles below Funkstown.
- Powles Tavern (Balto.-Carroll)—About 12 miles northeast of Westminster.
- Prices Mill (Ce.)—On Scotchman Creek, 3 miles from mouth.
- Prices Mill (Wo.)—On Branch of Dividing Creek, 9 miles northwest of Snow Hill.
- Puseys Mill (Fred.-Carroll)—On east side of Sams Creek, 3 miles above Little Pipe Creek.
- Quinn's Tavern (Al.)—About 4 miles west of Cumberland.
- Rawlings Mill (A. A.)—On branch of South River,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Annapolis.
- Rawlings Tavern (A. A.)—About 4 miles southeast of present Hardesty (Pr. G.).
- Rays Tavern (Mont.)—About 5 miles west of present Rockville.
- Red Tavern (Balto.)—On present Redhouse Creek,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles northeast of Baltimore.
- Red Ball Tavern (Ce.)—At or near present Fair Hill, 4 miles east of Blue Ball.
- Red House Tavern (A. A.-How.)—About  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of Poplar Springs.
- Red Lyon Tavern (Q. A.)—About 2 miles southwest of Sudlersville.

- Renshaws Mill (Wash.)—On a west branch of Antietam Creek, 3 miles northeast of Hagerstown.
- Ridgelys Forge (Balto.)—About 3 miles east of Perry Hall.
- Ridgelys Mill (Mont.)—On south side of Patuxent River, 4 miles east of Sandy Spring.
- Roberts Tavern (Mont.)—About 13 miles from Rockville on road to Frederick.
- Roberts's Mill (Q. A.)—Just south of Church Hill.
- Robertson's Mill (Caroline)—Near present Linchester.
- Rock Forge (Wash.)—On east side of Antietam Creek near Md.—Pa. line.
- Rogers's Tavern (Ce.)—At or near present Perryville.
- Rolands Mill (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek, 2 miles below Funkstown.
- Rorers Mill (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek, 2½ miles above Hagerstown.
- Ross Tavern (Cal.)—About 5 miles east of Lower Marlborough.
- Roxbury Mill (A. A.—How.)—Present Roxbury Mills.
- Saw Mill (Balto.)—On Patapsco River, 3 miles above Ellicott City.
- Saw Mill (Fred.)—On south side of Bush Creek, just south of New Market.
- Saw Mill (Harf.)—On Winters Run, 3 miles northwest of Abingdon.
- Saw Mill (So.—Wi.)—About 1½ miles northeast of Salisbury.
- Saw Mill (Wash.)—On east side of Sideling Hill Creek, 1½ miles from Potomac River.
- Saylors Mill (Fred.)—On south side Little Pipe Creek, 2 miles below Sams Creek.
- Schnevelys Mill (Wash.)—On Little Tonoloway Creek, 3 miles from Potomac River.
- Selby Mill (A. A.)—On Patapsco River just below Elkridge.
- Seths Mill (Caroline)—On branch of Tuckahoe Creek 2 miles below Hillsboro.
- Seths Mill (Q. A.)—About 3 miles southeast of Queenstown.
- Shafers Mill (Wash.)—On west side of Antietam Creek, 4 miles below Funkstown.
- Shaids Tavern <sup>2</sup> (Balto.)—About 10 miles north of Towson.

Shelhorn Tavern (Al.)—About 3 miles west of Old Town.

Shulls Tavern (Balto.)—At Owings Mills.

Simkin's Tavern (Al.—Gar.)—About 25 miles west of Cumberland.

Simms's Tavern (Kent)—About 8 miles northeast of Chester-town.

Smiths Mill (Balto.)—On Herring Run, 2 miles from mouth.

Smiths Tavern (Fred.)—About 3 miles north of Frederick.

Smiths Tavern (Wash.)—About 2 miles southeast of Hagers-town.

Snively's Tavern (Wash.)—About 14 miles west of Hagers-town.

Snowdens Forge (A. A.)—On Little Patuxent River, 9 miles south of Elkridge.

Snowdens Furnace (A. A.)—On Patuxent River near present Laurel.

Snowdens Mill (A. A.)—On Patuxent River, 4 miles below present Laurel.

Sprigs Mill (Cal.)—On headwaters of Chew Creek.

Spurriers Tavern (A. A.—How.)—At present Waterloo.

Stafford Mill (Harf.)—At present Stafford.

Stathams Mill (Wo.)—On branch of Chincoteague Bay, 5 miles southwest of Snow Hill.

Stoners Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On east side of Sams Creek, 2 miles above Little Pipe Creek.

Swingles Mill (Wash.)—On east side of Conococheague Creek, 2 miles north of Williamsport.

Teterlys Tavern (Fred.)—About 8 miles from Frederick on Middletown road.

Thompsons Tavern (Chas.)—About 5 miles south of Piscataway.

Tilghmans Mill (Tal.)—At head of Miles River, 4½ miles north of Easton.

Tittle's Tavern (Al.)—About 8 miles west of Cumberland.

Tomlinson's Mill (Al.)—At confluence of Wills Creek and Jennings Run.

\* Slade's Tavern on Shriver's map.

Tomlinson's Tavern (Al.-Gar.)—About 15 miles west of Cumberland.

Top Hill Tavern (Chas.)—At present Hilltop.

Towsons Tavern (Balto.)—At present Towson.

Towsons Tavern (Balto.)—About 5 miles south of Reisters-town.

Tub Mill (St. M.)—On head of Smiths Creek.

Turners Tavern (Harf.)—About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles northeast of Joppa.

Tyson's Mill (Balto.)—On Little Gunpowder Falls,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Joppa.

Urquharts Tavern (A. A.)—At Severn Run near present Benfield.

Urquharts Tavern (A. A.)—About 8 miles southeast of Elkridge.

Utter's Tavern (Wash.)—About 18 miles west of Hagerstown.

Van Ville Tavern (Pr. G.)—At present Vansville.

Waganer's Mill (So.)—About 1 mile south of Princess Anne.

Wallaces Mill (A. A.)—On south side of Magothy River, 7 miles from mouth.

Wallaces Mill (Ce.)—On south side Perch Creek, one mile from mouth.

Wampleys Mill (Balto.-Carroll)—On Cranberry Run, one mile northeast of Westminster.

Waymans Tavern (A. A.-How.)—About one mile southwest of Poplar Springs.

Websters Mill (Harf.)—On James Run,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Abingdon.

Websters Tavern (Balto.)—On south side of Bird River, 4 miles from mouth.

Wells's Mill (Fred.-Carroll)—On north side of Little Pipe Creek,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Westminster.

Welsh's Tavern (Balto.-Carroll)—About  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Westminster.

Whites Mill (A. A.-How.)—At or near present Savage.

Whites Tavern (Fred.)—About 6 miles from Middletown on road to Hagerstown.

Widener & Co. (Mill) (Harf.)—On Little Gunpowder Falls, 5 miles southwest of Coopstown.

- Wilkinsons Mill (Cal.)—On Hunting Creek about one mile east of Griffith's Hunting Town.
- Willis Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On north side of Big Pipe Creek, due south of Taneytown.
- Wilmers Mill (Kent)—About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles northwest of Chestertown.
- Wilsons Mill (Ce.)—On branch of Back Creek, 4 miles from Elk River.
- Wilsons Mill (Harf.)—On Winters Run,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Belair.
- Wilsons Mill (Kent)—About 5 miles northeast of Chestertown.
- Wilsons Tavern (Mont.)—About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Potomac River and 2 miles from D. C. line.
- Winchesters Mill (Fred.)—On south side Double Pipe Creek near Monocacy River.
- Wolfs Mill (Fred.)—On north side of Tuscarora Creek on road to Frederick.
- Woods Mill (Fred.)—On south side of Hunting Creek near Monocacy River.
- Woolrys Tavern (Balto.—Carroll)—About 3 miles southeast of Westminster.
- Worthington Mill (A. A.)—On a north branch of the South River,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Annapolis.
- Wrights Mill (Fred.—Carroll)—On north side of Little Pipe Creek at its confluence with Sams Creek.
- Yates Mill (Kent)—About  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Massey.
- Youngs Tavern (Harf.)—About one mile north of Joppa.
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## ROBERT MILLS TO HIS WIFE.\*

Baltimore, Aug. 14th, 1817

My dearest Eliza,

You have no doubt heard before this of the devastation made in the lower part of Baltimore by the great flood down the Jones Falls. You can form however no idea from description what the extent of mischief it is which has been done. I anticipated, you recollect, on the road some evil, and therefore expressed my anxiety to you at the time. My expectations have been but too truly realized. Among the sufferers, the Water Company's works are enlisted. The Dam & head gates (which shut out the water from entering the canal) are entirely swept away. Providentially the sudden filling up of the mouth of the canal prevented the current from going that way, which if it had done we know not what might have been the consequence, perhaps the destruction of the miller's house & the endangering the foundations of the mills themselves. You may judge of the height of the water in some places when many families were actually taken out of the 2<sup>d</sup> story of their houses, where the water had reached them. At the place where Mrs. Lacing lived the water in the street was as high as her head. Fortunately her things being up stairs did not get wet. Even about Mrs. Peale's, & the Theatre, boats were plying backward & forward, taking the people out of their houses. Mr. McCausland's business has been almost destroyed; his loss is immense as also Dr. White whose distillery is completely destroyed. The Bridges over the Falls near our house are swept away; one of them lodged in a garden just below. The mill dams above gave way & brought down the means by which the Water Company's dam was destroyed.

A few miles before we reached Frederickstown, we met with Mrs. Norris who informed me of the disaster. I feared to ask

\* Unpublished letter, the property of Richard X. Evans, Esq., of Washington, D. C.



respecting the Water works, & yet I wish'd to know. I hoped that they escaped any serious injury, and I thank God that my hopes are sustained reflecting upon what others have suffered, and what more we might have experienced. In all probability, the Co<sup>s</sup> works have not been seriously injured. What repairs are necessary to be done must be done immediately, and you may judge how my engagements are. I felt very uneasy on the road. I left the carriage as soon as the stage overtook us, and did not arrive here until this morning. The danger of travelling from Ellicotts mills to town was so great from the Bridges being borne down by the flood, & the road otherwise injured, we waited until the morning. I know you will excuse me in this first letter, which I hasten to send you to inform you of my safe arrival at home, and finding all well. I will write soon again. Give each of our darling children a kiss for me; best love to my dearest Eliza. Affectionate remembrance to your Mother & Father & Jacqueline, &c. God bless & preserve us prays your fondly attached husband.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

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*February 10th, 1936.*—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night.

A list of the donations to the Library and Gallery, since the last meeting, was read.

The following persons were elected to membership:

### *Active*

Prof. Charles L. Lewis	Mr. Gordon Strong
Mrs. Wm. Douglas LeFevre	Miss Edith Hope
Mr. Isaac Noyes Northup	Mr. Harry B. Green
Mr. R. Walter Graham, Sr.	Mrs. Wm. H. Maccubbin

### *Associate*

Mr. John Baker White	Mrs. Herbert M. Chaney
Mr. John Sprunt Hill	

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Richard Mareen Duvall, on January 19th, 1936.

Francis E. Waters, on January 22nd, 1936.

Newton R. Henderson, on February 7th, 1936.

Mr. William Ingle was recognized by the Chair and offered the following Resolution which was unanimously adopted:

*“Resolved, That the Members of the Maryland Historical Society assembled in meeting desire to spread upon its Minutes this expression of the loss sustained by the Society in the death of its long-time member, Richard Mareen Duvall, for so many years active both in his interest and efforts in its behalf. Long one of its Vice-Presidents and member of its Council he always was most diligent in furthering its purposes, evidenced not only by his very regular attendance upon its meetings, but in every other direction in which his help would be serviceable. This Minute will convey to Mrs. Duvall the sympathy of the Society and its Council in a loss in which all share with her.”*

A paper was read by Dr. Gilbert Chinard entitled: “Three French Visitors to Baltimore a Century Ago.”

Mr. Daniel R. Randall moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Dr. Chinard for his most interesting paper.

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*March 9th, 1936.*—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with President Riggs in the chair.

A list of the donations to the Society was read.

The following named persons were elected to membership:

*Active*

Mr. Robert Lee Graham

Mr. John S. Stanley

Mr. Alfred J. O’Ferrall

Mr. Philip Sidney Morgan

Miss Agnes Bandel

Mrs. Marion Amanda Gilleland

*Associate*

Mrs. Charles W. Stetson      Mr. Edward L. Smith  
    Mr. Lyttleton P. B. Gould

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Judge Walter I. Dawkins, on February 10th, 1936.  
 Mr. Orra Eugene Monnette, on February 23rd, 1936.  
 Mr. John W. Frick, on February 23rd, 1936.  
 Hon. Albert Cabell Ritchie, on February 24th, 1936.

Professor William Stull Holt, Department of History, Johns Hopkins University, read a paper on "Charles Carroll, Barrister, in his letters."

The unanimous thanks of the Society were extended to Dr. Holt for his most interesting paper.

*April 13th, 1936.*—The regular meeting of the Society was called to order to-night with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, as read.

A list of the donations made to the library and gallery since the last meeting was read.

Senator William McCulloh Brown was recognized by the Chair. He gave a brief account of the block of wood cut from a bounded white oak tree on the Western Boundary of Maryland which marked the corners of the State of Maryland and West Virginia. The oak was cut down in 1907 to be replaced by a concrete monument. Senator Brown presented the block of wood to the Society.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

*Active*

Mr. J. Vincent Jamison, Jr.	Miss Jeanette Joseph
Mrs. John Eager Howard	Mr. William G. Belt
Mr. Tazewell Thomas	Dr. Isaiah Bowman
Mr. James W. Rowe	

*Associate*

Mr. Charles Robert Morse

General Clinton L. Riggs stated that on "February 24th, 1936, through the death of Hon. Albert Cabell Ritchie the State of Maryland and the Nation suffered an irreparable loss, and the Society a valuable member and friend."

The Maryland Historical Society has in its possession some furniture, books, pictures and documents associated with the life of Governor Ritchie which we will keep and carefully preserve in his memory.

One of his oldest friends and former law partner will speak to us to-night on "Personal Recollections of former Governor Albert Cabell Ritchie." Allow me to introduce Col. Stuart S. Janney.

Colonel Janney gave a most delightful talk on his personal associations with Governor Ritchie from the time of their school days up to the time of his last few months of association with him as attorneys at law.

Senator George Arnold Frick was recognized by the Chair. He moved, That the thanks of the Society be extended to Colonel Janney for his kindness in giving the members of the Society the opportunity of hearing such a personal side of the late Mr. Ritchie who was held so high in the estimation of the citizens of the State.

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*May 11th, 1936.*—The regular meeting of the Society was called to order by President Riggs.

Members of the Bar Association of Baltimore City were guests of the Maryland Historical Society in joint session.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, as read.

The following persons, previously nominated, were elected to membership:

*Active*

Mr. C. Elliott Baldwin	Mrs. Norris W. Matthews
Mrs. C. Elliott Baldwin	Mr. Joseph A. McCabe
Mrs. William Ellis Coale	Dr. David A. Robertson
Mrs. William Tipton Conn	Mr. P. McNeal Shannahan
Mrs. Blanche S. Ferguson	Mr. Jerry W. Thornton
Miss Beatrice Mae Hecht	

*Associate*

Mr. H. C. Roberson

Dr. Pleasants was recognized by the Chair. He said that due to the fact that tonight's meeting would be the last regular monthly meeting of the Society until fall he would like to offer the following motion:

*Moved*, That those persons placed in nomination at this meeting for membership in the Society be elected at this time so that they could enjoy the privileges of the Society during the summer months.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The persons as listed above for nomination were elected to membership in the Society, each name being presented and voted upon individually.

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Mrs. Thomas B. Gambel, on March 31st, 1936.

Mrs. Robert Ferguson Bridges, on April 10th, 1936.

Mr. Daniel R. Randall, on April 13th, 1936.

Mrs. George E. Hardy, on April 20th, 1936.

Rev. William Weir Gillis, on April 22nd, 1936.

Mr. Edmund Key, on May 4th, 1936.

General Riggs said that we had with us tonight, through the courtesy of the Bar Association of Baltimore City, Professor Carl B. Swisher of Columbia University, and biographer of Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney. In appreciation of this

courtesy General Riggs asked Mr. Allan Fisher, a member of the Bar Association, to introduce Professor Swisher.

Mr. Fisher introduced Professor Swisher, who gave a most interesting talk on Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney.

Mr. Dielman moved that a rising vote of thanks be extended to Professor Swisher for his most interesting paper.

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## NOTICE

Summer Hours—Effective from June 1st to September 15th, inclusive:

Monday–Friday, inclusive, 9 a. m. to 4 p. m.

Saturday, 9 a. m. to 12.30 p. m.

Building closed for vacation period from—

August 16th to August 30th, both dates inclusive.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

Through the courtesy of "The Colophon," in which journal it was first published, we are permitted to reprint the paper of Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth. The St. Mary's Press was read before a special meeting of the Society, substantially as now presented in this issue of the Magazine. The Society acknowledges its indebtedness to the editor of "The Colophon" for enabling us to reproduce this valuable contribution to local history and bibliography.

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STANSBURY. Wanted, parentage of and data concerning James B. Stansbury of Baltimore or vicinity, born about 1784.

Mrs. Helen H. Adams, Hotel Lincoln,  
Indianapolis, Indiana.

(A James B. Stansbury, druggist, died January 12th, 1860.)

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MILLS. Wanted, data about Robert Mills who went to Chester Co. Pa., about 1720 and became a Quaker; probably from Prince George's or Somerset Co., Md.; born about 1700; married 1725.

Mrs. D. C. Green,  
1500 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.

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CARMAN-CONREY. Information wanted about Samuel Gilbert Purdy, of Cornwallis on Hudson, N. Y. Married about 1830 Hanna Carman. Her brother Peter Conrey was presumably from Baltimore or its vicinity.

Jacob Carman Purdy,  
P. O. Box 1034, Lake Providence, Louisiana.

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SHIPLEY. Information wanted of Benjamin Shipley who died in 1812; his wife, Elizabeth (name unknown), died in 1823; they owned "Shipley's Adventure"; they removed to Kentucky.

Mrs. Agatha McCarty,  
636 Cokesbury Ave., Baltimore, Md.

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1. WANTED, the marriage record of John Campbell and Hester Clark [daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Underhill) Clark, formerly of Cecil Co., Maryland]. June 6, 1765 or 1768, said to have been at Bush River.

2. WHO was the father of these five Campbell children?

1. John Campbell b. 1742, mar. Hester Clark June 6, 1765 or 1768.
2. James D. Campbell b. 1744.
3. Hester Campbell b. 1746.
4. Mary Campbell b. 1748, mar. John Clark (bro. of Hester) 1766.
5. Samuel Campbell b. 1750-1, mar. Mary (widow of John Inscoe) about 1769.

The father of these five Campbell children, said to have been a mariner, came to America about 1756, left the children on the

coast of New Jersey or Maryland, set out to sea, and died on his first trip.

Mrs. J. C. Harper,  
Ashland, Kansas.

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**MOXLEY.** Information desired concerning Mary Moxley, who became wife of John Parsons, b. 1721; d. 1809. A daughter Elizabeth, b. April 13, 1781, d. December 11, 1866; mar. June 27, 1799, Archibald Washington Watkins, b. 1778; d. 1856. Other issue were Joseph, William, Ezezenith and Mary.

Both Watkins and Parsons families moved from West River, A. A. Co., to Fells Point, about 1795. Also:

Any information concerning parentage, etc. of the Nancy Purdy who became wife of Philip Warfield, son of John, and Ruth (Gaither) Warfield.

Correspondence invited with any descendant of Ephraim, son of Philip and Nancy (Purdy) Warfield.

Mrs. Minnie Watkins Heyn,  
8 Holland Terrace,  
Montclair, N. J.

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**POPHAM.** Information wanted concerning Samuel Popham, a native of England, who came to Maryland during the Revolution. He had a son named Francis Popham. Also, concerning a Charles Shipley, who owned a part of a tract of land called Calledonia. Did he have any Revolutionary service?

Bessie M. Graves,  
5619 Michigan Ave.,  
Kansas City, Missouri.

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**CARROLL.** To what family of Carrolls did Henry Carroll belong? He was the young man who brought the news of peace following the signing the Treaty of Ghent.

Mary Merwin Phillips,  
566 23rd St., South,  
Aurora Hills, Alexandria, Va.

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SWANN. Wanted, the ancestry of Edward Swann of Maryland, who married Jane Thomas, who died before 1756. Their dau. Elizabeth, mar. Thomas Randolph Greenfield Adams, who was b. in Charles Co., Md., about 1722. He was a son of John Adams and Elizabeth Naylor, the dau. of George Naylor, d. about 1734.

Jane Thomas was the dau. of John Thomas, b. 1682, d. 1757, the son of James, the son of Thomas Thomas of St. Mary's Co., who mar. Elizabeth Barton, dau. of William Barton. It is said that Edward Swann had also a son, a lawyer, prominent in Maryland, who mar. a Miss Naylor.

Mrs. Amelia White Adams,  
130 East 57th St.,  
New York City.

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SHRYOCK. Information desired on early records of any Shryock, or the Shryock family of Maryland.

Miss Jean Shryock,  
206 Hunter St.,  
Woodbury, N. J.

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In connection with the compilation of a history of the Dimmitt and allied Maryland families, would like to correspond with any member of that family, either through male or female lines. Among the Maryland families connected by marriage with the Dimmitt family before 1810 were: Barham, Bosley, Broad, Bull, Bussey, Choate, Cole, Constantine, Cooke, Cross, Darby, Davenport, Davis, Fizzee, Ford, Galloway, Gary, Golding, Gray, Isgrig, Jessop, Kidd, Morgan, Night, Pemberton, Price, Ryan, Shreeves, Stansbury, Swan, Watts, Wilson, Wright. Would appreciate contacting anyone having data on these families.

Richard B. Miller,  
865 First Ave.,  
New York City.

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SHIPLEY. Are there any descendants living in the vicinity of Baltimore, of the Shipley or Shepley family who lived about eighteen miles from Baltimore at the time of the Revolutionary War. If so, we wish to get in touch with them.

Mrs. Grace E. Zug,  
3400 Ravina Drive, Apt. 2,  
Des Moines, Iowa.

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*Original Patentees of Land at Washington, D. C., Prior to 1700.* By BESSIE WILMARTH GAHN. [Washington, Brentano's,] 1936. Price \$1.00.

This is an attractively printed pamphlet of 85 pages, and contains a map showing the location of the various patents. The work has been well done and the text is well documented with copious notes and references.

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